

# Michigan History



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# MICHIGAN HISTORY

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## Memories of My Brother Henry Ford

*Margaret Ford Ruddiman*

NEW HABITS OF THOUGHT AND NEW WAYS OF DOING THINGS have made an ever-changing world during my lifetime. The span of my brother Henry's life covered an era in which many scientific developments were made. His experiments with the gasoline engine and its application to a four-wheeled vehicle contributed much toward the development of the Automotive Age. It was as his younger sister that I was privileged to see his work, first as a country boy and later as that same country boy who had become world famous. This all happened in what now seems like such a short time.

My brother William and I are all that now remain of the six children of William and Mary Ford. To us the published stories concerning our family and Henry's boyhood days do not give the reader a true picture of our family life. Since his death I have been asked many questions about our early days at home. These two questions have been asked most frequently: "What kind of person was Henry as a boy? What was the true relationship between Henry and his father?"

Shortly after Henry's passing his very intimate friend, the late Dr. Roy D. McClure, who was surgeon in chief of the Henry Ford Hospital since its opening, asked me these questions. He believed that a true picture of this relationship should be given. William, my sister-in-law the late Clara Bryant Ford, and I, also felt that an accurate account of this relationship should be written. They have encouraged and aided me greatly in this work. And it is with this purpose in mind that I have attempted to answer these questions correctly and to present a true picture of our family life as I remember it. In so doing it is my desire that these reminiscences about our family and of our activities in the community will give the reader a better understanding of Henry's character, his works, and his ideals.

I have always been very proud of Henry: first as a younger sister looking up to him as an older brother who could do things for us children; later as a young woman, for the courage he showed in sticking to his idea that a horseless carriage could be built even though

everyone said it was impossible to do such a thing; and later in life for the many kind things he did for other people. Many of these doings have never become known to the public, for that was the way Henry did things for others.

One realizes the great temptation to endow such a life as my brother's with some mystical beginning, to believe that he was a person "set apart" for some special work in the world. If such was the case with Henry, this escaped all of us who were closest to him.

We, who grew up with him, agree upon the fact that one of his outstanding characteristics was his naturalness. He was a real boy in every sense of the word. There was not a game played at school in which Henry did not participate and often excel. He was a dreamer, but isn't every boy a dreamer? Unlike other boys, as he grew older, he never ceased to be a dreamer. Many of these dreams became a reality. Like most boys on a farm he tried shortcuts to lighten the many chores, and as a mature man he continued to dream of ways to made the everyday tasks easier in order that his fellow men might have more time for pleasure and recreation.

Father was a stern disciplinarian, and we all knew that if a task was assigned to us he expected that task to be performed to the best of our ability. Henry was an obedient son; he respected parental authority. There was an understanding between father and son that many people did not realize existed. He learned from Father many of the secrets of being a good farmer.

In later years farming occupied much of Henry's time, not for the sake of farming alone, but for the means of proving certain theories he had about both machinery and agriculture. On farms and with farmers he was at home. It was his desire to develop an inexpensive car, and a lightweight tractor for these people. He believed that these were the things which would make the land more productive and thus help to make America strong.

Henry had been successful as a farmer and owner of a sawmill before his marriage to Clara Bryant on April 11, 1888. It was the money earned and saved while living on his farm plus the savings from his wages at the Edison Illuminating Company which financed the building of his first car. From these first cars he learned the lessons which helped him to build the racing cars which spread his fame as the man who knew how to build better and faster auto-

mobiles. This work in turn interested others in investing the necessary capital to start the Ford Motor Company in 1903. Henry's first successes on the farm made possible all the other things which he was to accomplish during his lifetime.

Henry came from Irish farming ancestry. Our grandparents, John and Thomasine Smith Ford, were tenant farmers in Ireland, and like other families at that time were evicted from their home by their landlords for nonpayment of rent. In Ireland the tenure laws made it impossible for tenant farmers to own the land upon which they lived. The land was tilled by them for their English landlords. Many of these farmers were seeking new homes in the United States where the land was fertile, and they could own their homes and give their families a more secure way of life. Father often recalled the pride which he and his father had for their own lands and their own homes in the United States. In later years the great miracle of America still seemed to him to be that here was a place where a man could own the land upon which he lived and worked. Here there was personal independence; something these people had not the opportunity to experience before coming to America.

The decision of leaving an established home and old friends in Ireland must have been a difficult one for those persons seeking new homes in America, for they were leaving with the knowledge that they would probably not return to the old home again. Provisions had to be provided for the long trip at sea and only a few cherished possessions could be taken with them. Many of these Irish folk had friends, neighbors, or relatives who had come to the United States a few years before; they corresponded with the home folks and told how easy it was to own land by taking Government land grants. This land was wilderness and had to be cleared of timber. There was a lot of hard work, but the soil was fertile, the climate suitable for good crops, and above all the land would be their own where they could build their own little log cabins.

Our grandfather, John Ford, had two older brothers, George and Samuel, who were the first of the Ford family to come to Michigan from Ireland. They came in 1837, the year Michigan was admitted into the Union as the twenty-sixth state. With the exception of a few cabins in the clearings, Michigan was dense wilderness all about. George and Samuel Ford settled on the North Road, now Joy Road,

at what is now Greenfield and Joy Roads, in Greenfield Township. Greenfield Township had been so named because the fields were very green and crops were abundant. The roads at that time were no more than trails through the woods. Greenfield Road was not opened until some time later, and when it was it became the dividing line between the farms of the two brothers. George owned the land on the east side of Greenfield Road. Samuel's property extended to the west along Joy Road.

Greenfield Road was also the dividing line between the townships of Greenfield and Dearborn and for many years prior to its present name was known as the Townline Road. An area of about four square miles in the northeast corner of Dearborn Township became known as the Scotch Settlement. To this community in the 1830's came a number of families from Scotland: the Francis Leslies, James Robertsons, William Ruddimans, John Mackies, and William Nobles. They settled along the banks of Roulo Creek and along a trail through the woods later to become Warren Road. Other families from England, North and South Ireland, and New York state settled there also, but the community seemed to retain its early name, the Scotch Settlement.

In 1847, our grandparents with our father William and their other children, Henry, Samuel, Rebecca, Mary, Ann, and Jane left their home on Madame near Ballinscarthy, county Cork, Ireland, to make the long journey to America and join their relatives in Michigan. Grandfather had corresponded with his brothers George and Samuel in America, and when his crops failed and his family was evicted from its home, he and his wife and their family were very glad to plan the trip to Michigan to be with their relatives. In addition to our grandfather's relatives, some of our grandmother's family, the Smiths, were already in Michigan, having settled in Corktown, the Irish settlement in Detroit. Grandfather's mother, our great-grandmother, Rebecca Jennings Ford, came to Michigan with some of her family. I do not know if this was before or after Grandfather arrived. She died in 1851. When Father left Ireland, he borrowed two pounds from a cousin, Henry Ford, who lived on a farm at Knockea, one and one-half miles from the Ford home at Madame. This cousin drove the family in a common cart from their home at Madame to Bandon Station, county Cork, to entrain for Queenstown in order to embark

on the sailing ship for America. Father, a young apprentice carpenter, brought his saws, hammers, and various tools with him.

Thus in 1847 the John Ford family of Ballinscarthy, county Cork, Ireland, set out on the long and difficult trip to Michigan to make a new home, their destination being the Scotch Settlement in Dearborn Township.

Down through the years the story of our grandmother's death has been told by different members of the family, and like a legend there is more than one version. I believe the one Father told to be most authentic, since he was the eldest and probably remembered the incident more clearly than the other children. He never talked a great deal about his early childhood in Ireland and the trip to Michigan, therefore we know very little about his early life. On one occasion when I was about seven years old Father was talking with some friends about his trip to the United States. Father said that they had brought all the provisions, food, and clothing they would need for the entire trip. To provide for a family of nine on a small sailing vessel for possibly three months was quite a task and took great courage. One wonders how they cooked their meals and just what food supplies they were able to take with them. Father said the weather was rough for many days and they suffered hardships on the long and tedious trip. Before the ship reached New York city, Grandmother became ill and died. I do not recall the nature of this illness, but when Father said that she was buried at sea, that seemed a terrible thing to have happen. I remember climbing up onto Father's lap for the sense of security a small child needs. This incident made a very great impression upon me and that is probably the reason I have remembered it all these years.

After arriving in New York city Grandfather and his little family continued their journey to Michigan by way of the canals and the route used at that time. Travel was slow and I do not know just how much time elapsed before the family arrived in Michigan. Father used to mention that on the way they visited relatives in Pennsylvania for a short time.

When Grandfather and the children arrived in Detroit they proceeded west out into the wilderness to the Scotch Settlement. The piece of property which Grandfather bought from Henry Maybury was located about two miles west of the homes of his brothers George

and Samuel, on the North Road, now the intersection of Joy and Evergreen Roads in Detroit. The family no doubt stayed with their relatives while Grandfather and Father built their little log house in the clearing they made in the woods. They joined in the life of the community and lived there together until the children were grown up and able to go out to work.

Life in this little community was that of the woodsman and pioneer farmer. Trees were cut and in the clearing the log cabin was built, then the shelter for the oxen and other farm animals. As time permitted, more land was cleared and crops planted. Oxen were used for this work for they were steady and strong and worked better among the stumps. There was always the danger from wild animals and the few Indians lurking about the forests.

The housewife was a busy person. Each day had its assigned household tasks. Washing was a day's job. The water was brought from the well, heated on the stove or in the large iron kettle hung over an open fire out doors; the washboard and wooden tubs were assembled; and finally the job of rubbing and boiling the clothes clean was begun. Not to be forgotten was the strong, soft homemade soap that was used. The clothes, rinsed and wrung by hand, were finally hung out to dry. Then came the tedious job of ironing with flatirons or sadirons as they were often called. The flatiron was heated on the stove, used until it cooled a bit, and then placed back on the stove and another one used. Ironing was a slow, hot, and tiresome task. I remember using the sadirons. It was not until electricity was extended through the rural districts that the flatiron was put upon the shelf for good. As I look back over the years, many of the household tasks in my early days were done in much the same way as in the pioneer days. Electricity did a great deal to lighten the work of the housekeeper.

However, life in the early 1850's was not all drudgery. There was the fun of gathering maple sap in the spring and the "sugaring it down," the picnics, the nutting parties in the fall, and a visit with a neighbor on a winter night beside the open fireplace. For refreshments a glass of sweet apple cider or a large bowl of crisp cold apples and a large bowl of buttered popcorn were served.

There were Sunday School gatherings, for soon after Barbara Leslie Ruddiman, wife of William Ruddiman of Aberdeenshire, Scotland,

was settled in her log cabin on the west bank of Roulo Creek, she held a Sunday School class in her home for her own children and those of the community. Members of the Ruddiman family used to tell about John Mackie, who lived a mile or so away, carrying his little girl through the woods in order that she might attend the Sunday School class at the Ruddiman home. Mrs. Ruddiman was able to have Elder M. Morel, a Baptist minister, come from Livonia to preach every second Sunday. For about five years these services were held in the Ruddiman log house. When the schoolhouse was built in 1840 the services were held there until sometime later a church was built in the community. The John, George, and Samuel Ford families, though not living right along Roulo Creek, were a part of the community.

A year or so after the John Ford family arrived in Michigan, workmen were needed for the construction of buildings and docks for the steam railroad which was expanding its lines to the western terminus at New Buffalo. Father joined the group of workmen at New Buffalo and worked there until the job was finished. He had worked as an apprentice carpenter in Ireland, so it was natural that he seek construction work upon coming to Michigan.

The other members of the family left home at an early age. Henry went west during the Gold Rush in 1849, Samuel became a farmer and lived near Detroit, and the girls married. Rebecca and Ann married brothers, William and Thomas Flaherty, and lived in the mining districts of the Upper Peninsula. Later Rebecca and her family returned to Detroit to live. Mary married a cousin, Henry Ford, and Jane married Henry Smith. Both lived near Detroit.

Henry became interested in learning about the origin of our family after a trip to Ireland with Clara and Edsel in 1912. They visited the quaint little village of Ballinscarthy. The little house on Madame that had been Grandfather's home was standing and Fords were living in it. There they found the grave of our great-grandfather, William Ford.

The townspeople told them that just a few days before, Henry Ford, an elderly gentleman, had been buried in the little cemetery. This elderly gentleman may have been the Henry Ford about whom Charles Bateman of Heathburn Hall, Ballinghassig, county Cork, Ireland, wrote in his correspondence with Raymond H. Laird, who in

later years worked with my brother on further research into the history of the Ford family. Mr. Laird married a great-granddaughter of the Samuel Ford who left Ireland in 1837 to make his home in Greenfield Township. Mr. Bateman told Mr. Laird of the terrible famine in Ireland during 1846 and 1847 caused by the failure of the potato crop. He wrote that Henry Ford, Father's cousin who had driven Grandfather's family to Bandon Station when they left Ireland in 1847, was reinstated after a short time in the farm and home at Madame. According to Mr. Bateman this farm had been the old Ford home for three hundred years, and at the time he wrote the property was occupied by Henry Ford.

In his research Mr. Laird found that the records of most of the parishes in which the Ford ancestors had lived were destroyed during the Irish Revolution in 1922. He also found that there were genealogical charts of three Ford families in the British Museum. Copies of these charts have been obtained in an effort to trace the connection between the English and Irish Ford families prior to the migration to Ireland. At the present time no direct line has been established, but the recurrence of the given names Henry, John, William, and George suggests that there may be a possible connection with the Ford family of Devonshire. About 1601 many of the younger generation of Somerset and Devon went over to Ireland and settled in the neighborhood of Clonakilty. Early records show that Fords were tenants of families living in Madame.

Our father, William Ford, was born at Madame on December 10, 1828, the first child of John and Thomasine Ford. He was nineteen years old when he came to the Scotch Settlement.

The exact date and place of our mother's birth is not known. It is my understanding that she was born near Wyandotte about 1838 and was one of a large family. When her father, a carpenter, was killed in an accident, Patrick and Margaret O'Hern took her into their home. Patrick O'Hern came to the Scotch Settlement from Ireland in the early 1830's. He married Margaret Stevens in Detroit in 1834 and they purchased forty acres of land for their farm. They built their log house on the north side of the South Road, now Ford Road at Greenfield Road.

According to the census of 1850 Patrick O'Hern was forty-five years of age, and his wife, Margaret, forty-eight. They were both born in

Ireland. Patrick's occupation was that of farmer. The census does not mention the number of acres of land he owned, but his property was valued at \$1800. "Mary O'Hern" is listed as their daughter, ten years of age and attending school. This census record is, I believe, the only contemporary record from which to secure accurate information concerning our mother. It was not until later we learned that she was a foster daughter of the O'Herns and had been born Mary Litogot.

In Ireland Patrick O'Hern knew a family by the name of Hanna. The Hannas had come to the United States and had settled in Detroit. When the O'Herns decided to come to the United States, it was quite natural that they wished to be near their old friends and that they accordingly located west of Detroit. I do not know the connection between the Hanna family and our mother's family, the Litogots, but it was through the Hanna family that Mother went to live with the O'Herns. Patrick and Margaret had no children of their own, therefore Mother was raised as their only daughter. Although she was never legally adopted by the O'Herns, she was registered as their own daughter, as shown in the 1850 census record. Margaret O'Hern taught her foster daughter to be a neat and thrifty housekeeper. She learned to sew a "fine seam" as she worked with the patches for her first quilt. Spinning, weaving, and knitting were handicrafts she also learned to do well.

Lydia Stevenson Rycraft, a grandniece of Francis Leslie, one of the early settlers in Scotch Settlement, has told me that her mother, Annie Leslie, used to tell her about going to the Scotch Settlement School in the 1850's with Mary Litogot, our mother. The two little girls shared Annie's *Sander's Second Reader*, and Mary took big red apples for them both to eat during recess time. When Henry began collecting articles for the Edison Museum and reconstructing the Scotch Settlement School in Greenfield Village, Mrs. Rycraft gave him this reader with, "Annie Leslie, Dearborn, 1851," written on the fly leaf. It is now preserved in the Edison Museum at Greenfield Village.

In turning the pages of this reader one is impressed with the selection of material for implanting in young and impressionable minds the high ideals which were observed in the lives of these pupils and their families. Seventy lessons are listed in the contents. I shall

quote a few of the titles as an example of the well-rounded and diversified reading for even very young readers: "The Way to Become Wise," "The Love of God," "God Is There," "The Boy Who Thought More of His Heels Than His Head," "God Is Great in Power, Wisdom and Goodness," "Read and You Will Know," "Every One Can Do Some Good," "When One Means Fails, Try Another," "The Girl Who Was Displeased with Her Own Conduct," "The Impatient Boy," "Anger Is Rarely Wise," "The Man Who Tried to Please Everybody, and Pleased Nobody," "There Is a Right Way and a Wrong Way," "Kindness to Animals," "Every Thing in Its Place," "There Can Be No Image or Likeness of God," "Pride in Dress," "Who Is My Neighbor?" "The Form and Motions of the Earth," "The Four Seasons," "The Five Senses," and "The Lord's Prayer—Versified." Lessons such as these laid the foundation for the morals of the early generation. And I am sure that our home environment as well as that of our many friends was influenced greatly by the educational and religious training our parents received in the Scotch Settlement.

The Scotch Settlement School, which Mother as a little girl and Father as one of the older boys attended, was built to comply with the law passed in 1827 while Michigan was a territory. This law stated that "every township . . . containing fifty families or householders, shall be provided with a good schoolmaster . . . for six months." The Settlement complied with this requirement, and in the winter of 1839 a frame structure was built on the southwest corner of the Richard Gardner property. The land for this building was leased from Richard Gardner for twenty-one years at ten cents per year. The first classes were held for three months during the summer of 1840. The building was erected by George Troup, John Gauld, and others of the community. The first teacher was Miss Lovedy Ruddiman, a daughter of William and Barbara Ruddiman.

After Father returned from his railroad construction job, he worked with his father and brothers at home, attended school, and did carpentering for the neighbors during the slack seasons on the farm. The young people of the neighborhood all knew each other and had many good times together. As the sparkling brown-eyed, dark-haired, and rosy-cheeked Mary Litogot grew into a lovely young lady, William Ford chose her for his wife and they were married on April 25, 1861,



MARY LITOGOT FORD



MARGARET FORD RUDDIMAN

by the Rev. Edward Dinroche of St. Peter's Episcopal Church at the home of Thomas Maybury in Detroit.

Before Father was married he had purchased forty acres of land from his father, John Ford. This land was virgin forest and had to be cleared before a house could be built. Patrick O'Hern and Father built the white frame house which was our home. They had started to work on it in plenty of time to have it finished by the wedding day. Mother often told about the wedding supper, which was served on a long table in the parlor of the new house after they all returned from Detroit. Her sisters and brothers came from Wyandotte for the occasion.

The house was quite good sized for a young couple starting life together. The reason for an extra room or two was that the O'Herns were giving up the little log house to live with Mother and Father. As children we had many good times playing in the loft of the old log house of the O'Herns. The first floor was used as a shelter for the sheep; grain and hay were stored in the loft. Our house was set back from the road a little way and faced the north. To the west was the garden, and to the east and south the barns, fields, and land which had not yet been cleared for cultivation. A little distance to the south flowed Roulo Creek, later to become one of Henry's favorite haunts. In the early days the Scotch Settlement folk followed the banks of the creek on their way down to the Chicago Road, now Michigan Avenue; and hence east to Detroit or west to Dearbornville, later Dearborn.

There were three evergreen trees in the front yard, a pear tree at the east side of the house shading one of the bedroom windows, and quite a few apple trees to the west and to the east of the house. There was a very large willow tree shading the house from the hot noonday sun. Father must have planted all these trees when the house was built, as they were all bearing fruit when I was quite small. We always had plenty of fruit; all kinds and many varieties of apples. Some of the finest ones are no longer grown. During the summer Mother found time to do a great deal of canning and preserving. However only fruits were canned. We enjoyed our fresh vegetables in season. Cabbage, carrots, beets, turnips, and potatoes were put in the root cellar to be used during the winter. Apples were also stored there. The fruit jars Mother used were not the clear glass jars we

use today, but were of crockery. They were not transparent, but they did have rubbers and covers that produced a tight seal.

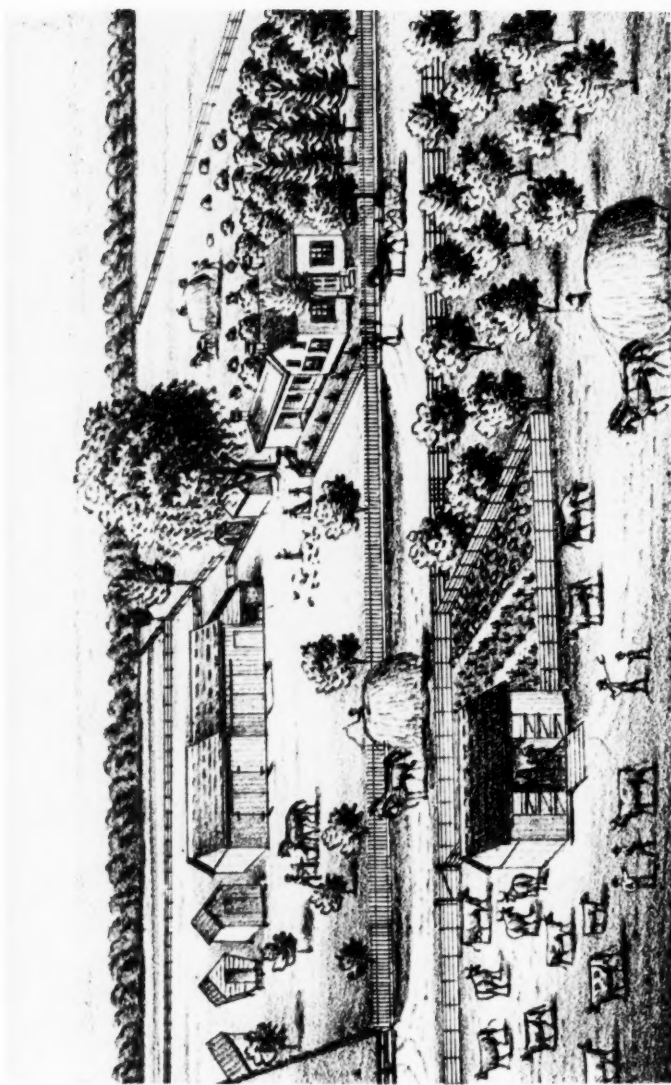
As the family grew in size another bedroom and a kitchen were added to the original house, making four rooms on the first floor and three bedrooms upstairs. I just remember when some of the changes were made. However, when Henry moved the old home to Greenfield Village, it was restored as we remember it in our childhood days. Upon entering the front door, the parlor is on the right, and opening off the hall to the left are two bedrooms. The O'Herns occupied one, Father and Mother the other. The stairs went up from the hall. We children slept upstairs. Henry's room faced the east and overlooked the side yard, driveway, and barns. At the end of the hall is the sitting room. Originally this was the kitchen before the new one was built. Opposite the doors into the hall and parlor is the large fireplace where Mother did the family cooking and baked in the Dutch oven at one side. I just remember the fireplace, as it was closed and a cook stove took its place. This room was the center of all activity. From the east window Mother could watch the goings and comings of her family about the barns. We children played in the yard outside the kitchen door. She could watch for Father's return from town as there was a good view down the road. It was at this window that Henry later had his workbench and tinkered with his watches. This was an important window in an important room in the house.

Father continued to clear more of his land for farm crops and by the time Henry was born on July 30, 1863, he was well established as a "good" farmer in the Scotch Settlement. His other children, John, myself, Jane, William, and Robert, came along as the years passed. These were busy years for the young couple. Father increased his acreage whenever possible, and as Henry and John grew older they were given chores to do. Father was always very patient in showing the boys just how he wanted a job done. When they had learned how, he expected the job to be well done.

Our life at home was a very friendly and happy one. Mother and Father enjoyed their children and did many things with us and for us. The story has been told about Father taking Henry and John, just a baby in arms, to see a song sparrow's nest in the corner of the barnyard. Many times Father turned the plow aside as he plowed in order that a bird's nest might not be disturbed. These incidents left



THE WILLIAM FORD HOMESTEAD



HENRY FORD'S BIRTHPLACE

their impression upon Henry who later instructed the men on his farms to turn aside their plows and leave the nests undisturbed. Feeding stands and water trays were provided for the birds and small animals at his Fair Lane home in Dearborn. This love of nature, instilled in him by his parents in early life, continued and became one of his hobbies and a source of great pleasure for him.

There were shopping trips to Detroit with Father and Mother. These trips were not often, but they were real red letter days in our memory. When we did not go to town with them, there was always a little surprise for us upon their return; red and white peppermint sticks, round flat peppermints, and horehounds. Candy was a treat and we all enjoyed it.

Father and Mother were members of Christ Episcopal Church in Dearborn. It was quite a ride with horse and buggy, but we children were taken to church as regularly as circumstances permitted. It was a long ride in winter and often the roads were so bad we could not make the trip. However, Mother taught us the stories of the Bible when we could not go to church.

Later we went to picnics on the Fourth of July, to church socials, and other neighborhood gatherings. When the circus came to town, Father took us children. In thinking back, I wonder who enjoyed it the most, Father or children.

Often Mother let my sister and me wear some of her dresses when we played ladies, as all little girls like to do. Some of those dresses were of lovely soft silk; one in particular was a beautiful light blue China silk. There were others of soft wool material. All had long full skirts, plain bodices, and puffed sleeves. They were like the pictures in *Godey's Ladies Book*. Father was a successful farmer and a good provider for his family. We always had plenty but were taught not to waste anything. That has been a rule which has been followed by each one of us all our lives.

Early photographs and tintypes of Mother show her girlish charm and beauty. She had dark hair and brown eyes, a manner and vivacity which was well remembered by all who knew her. After she died in March, 1876, Father helped us preserve a vivid memory of her. We remember well her kindness and gentleness toward all of us and the systematic and orderly way in which her work was done. The house was always spotless, and in those days, without the modern

household appliances, keeping house for a family was a real all-time job. But Mother never complained and always had a cheery word and smile for each of us. She was never too busy to comfort our little hurts or to give us a word of encouragement and advice. We were taught to be kind and thoughtful of one another and to respect and obey our elders.

Henry tells of some of Mother's characteristics which had slipped from my memory. She had faith in her children. She believed in Henry's childish tinkering with tools. She encouraged him, and her patience and understanding were appreciated by him. There was a closeness between mother and son which Henry missed after her passing. And he likened the house after her death to a "watch without its mainspring." We were taught that "service is the highest duty in the world."

Mother was an energetic person. When there was a job to do, it was done quickly and well. She expected the same from us. Our early training has left its effect upon each one of us. We like things neat and orderly, with everything in its place.

Henry told of incidents in which Mother seemed to know what he was thinking about and planning to do. She had what we call intuition. Henry was very much like her in that respect. He said, "I've answered questions before they were asked." This brings to mind an incident that happened many years ago at the Highland Park plant of the Ford Motor Company. Henry seemed to sense that all was not well in one of the departments. He walked through that part of the plant one morning before the men arrived for work. Signs had been posted telling the men to stop work at a certain time. Henry walked out of the department saying nothing about what he intended doing, but when the men arrived for work they found the power in that department had been shut off. Henry often said he did not know why he went to that particular department at that particular time. It was his intuition, a characteristic he had inherited from his mother.

Mother's image and ideals were so carefully held up to us by Father and our foster grandfather, Patrick O'Hern, that we always felt her influence upon us. Margaret O'Hern had died a few years before mother. At this time it is impossible to separate my recollections about Mother into the things which I remember and those things which were told to us by Father and Patrick O'Hern. This should

not make too much difference, for I believe that the memory of one's mother is certain to be a blend of ideals and reality. The things which Father so carefully told us about her surely are more accurate than our childhood recollections.

At the time of Mother's death Henry was almost thirteen years old; John was eleven; Jane, six; William, five; Robert, two; and myself almost nine. Some of those who have written of this phase of our early family life have attributed a false precocity to me. It has been assumed that upon Mother's death I took over the task of keeping house and making a home for the family. I helped to the extent that a nine-year old girl can, but the actual mothering of the family was the responsibility of Jane Flaherty, a niece of Father's and daughter of Rebecca Ford Flaherty. Later on, however, as I grew older I took over the responsibilities of keeping house for the family.

The O'Herns and the family of Senator Thomas W. Palmer were very friendly, and as a Christmas gift one year Senator Palmer gave the O'Herns a large Bible. It became the Ford family Bible and contains important dates. I was named Margaret, for Margaret O'Hern, and, as the first daughter, inherited the Bible. It was in my possession for many years. When Henry restored our old home I gave it to him to be placed in its accustomed place on the table in the hall near the sitting-room door.

Sentiment was one of Henry's outstanding characteristics. He believed in progress as has been shown in his life work, but he also liked certain things to remain as he had remembered them. One of these was our home. I agree fully with a statement my sister-in-law Clara made to me that "Henry was one of the most sentimental men that ever lived." This trait is clearly shown in the attachment he had for our home and things with which Mother worked and used during her life. Many stories have been told of the infinite pains and patience which he put into the restoration of the old homestead so that it would be a fitting memorial to Mother and Father.

When Henry began restoring the home it pleased me very much and I wanted to help as much as possible. However, many of the things with which I had worked did not mean as much to me as they did to him. He had a sentimental attachment much deeper than my own. His memory was better than mine, and as to the details of furnishing the house, he remembered the pattern and color of the

carpet, the make and model of the stove, and even the pattern and color of the dishes we had used.

Henry began this work in the early 1920's and he left no stone unturned in trying to find the things he wanted. People all over the country looked for an old Starlight Stove, Model No. 25, made in 1867 by the Detroit Stove Works, but it was Henry who found it himself. As he was driving through the little town of Stockbridge in Ingham County, he noticed a stove on the porch of a house. Upon close examination he found it to be the one he was looking for. To the owner it was valueless; to Henry it was priceless. He took it apart himself and brought it to Dearborn to be restored to its shining beauty and placed in the sitting room of our home.

From a small piece of a broken dish found by digging in the doorway, Henry remembered enough of the pattern to have dishes made. These were placed on the shelves of the pantry, ready for use.

To find the Brussels carpet for the parlor was more of a task. He remembered that the pattern was a large urn filled with roses. After many samples had been shown to him, at last the exact one was found. Some of the furnishings were not difficult to find, others, however, had to be reproductions; but when the house was finished it was as he had remembered it when Mother lived and worked there. Henry was very happy; he enjoyed taking his especial friends there to relive with him, for a few short hours in a busy day, the memories of his childhood.

On January 11, 1871, when Henry was about seven and a half years old, he trudged off to school, swinging his dinner pail and, no doubt, feeling quite grown up as he joined the older boys of the neighborhood. John and I missed his companionship and wished that we might join him in the adventures of going to school. The Scotch Settlement School was about two miles to the northwest of our home. Henry went out Ford Road a ways, then took a trail which followed Roulo Creek to the north to Warren Road. The teacher for that particular term was young Miss Emily Nardin.

The original frame schoolhouse, on the southwest corner of Richard Gardner's farm, which Mother and Father attended in the 1840's and 1850's, had been destroyed by fire. The new school, a red brick building, was built in 1861 on the opposite side of the road. It was a one-room building accommodating about thirty or forty

Oct 28 1913  
 Henry Ford Born in Greenfield Michigan ①  
 July 30<sup>th</sup> 1863



The first thing that I remember in my life is my Father taking my brother John and myself to see a birds nest - under a large oak log twenty rods East of our Home and my birth place, John was so young that he could not walk Father carried him I being two years older could run along with them this must have been about the year of 1866 or gone I remember the nest with 4 eggs and also the bird and hearing it sing I have always remembered the song and in later years found that it was a song sparrow, I remember the log stayed in the field for a good many years this field was pasture there was a mill close to the

HENRY FORD'S SKETCH OF HIS BOYHOOD HOME

In July 1876.

The first portable  
Engine Come in  
own part of the  
country it was  
owned by Mr Fred  
Reden. ~~it was~~  
a 11. H.P N.E.S.  
of Battle Creek  
Mich. That showed  
me that I was by  
instinct an Engineer.

Could read  
all of the first  
Reader when  
I started to  
school.  
My Mother.  
taught me  
all classes  
were in the  
same room

Mr Reden

Let me fire and  
run the engine  
many times that  
and next year.

He was a good  
and kind man.

We have an En-  
gine like it in  
the museum.

Grades were  
known by the  
number of the  
readers.

in 1873 in the fall  
I went to the  
Miller school  
to the same  
teacher.  
1  $\frac{9}{10}$  miles away

students. The teacher's desk was on a platform raised one step so that she might see the students at the back of the room all the better. There were blackboards at the front of the room. As the teacher called the children to recite, they came to the front of the room. There was a piano on one side of the platform with the American flag close by. At the center front of the room was the wood stove. On winter mornings the teacher or a neighbor arrived early to start the fire and have the building warm when the children arrived at nine o'clock. The older boys kept the wood box filled from the pile in the adjoining woodshed. Each child had his slate, slate pencil, and copybook. Reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught; however, not always to the "tune of a hickory stick," as the song tells us.

Classes were held for nine months, the school year being divided into fall, winter, and spring terms. Frequently there were different teachers for each term, the winter term being taught by a man because he could manage the older boys who attended at that time. They could be spared from the farm work then. The teacher himself was often a farmer who owned or rented a small farm in the neighborhood. The classes during the spring and fall terms were usually taught by women who boarded with families living near the school. The requirement for a teacher in the rural school at that time was an eighth grade education. Many of these teachers were very fine persons and helped to mold the lives of their young students. Some had traveled; consequently, by the stories of their experiences, places in the geography book were made more real.

Since Father owned property and paid taxes in both Dearborn and Springwells townships, we children could attend either the Scotch Settlement or the Miller schools. One of the teachers I remember very well was Frank R. Ward, a neighbor and farmer, who taught a number of terms while Henry, John and I attended the Scotch Settlement School. Henry paid a high tribute to Mr. Ward when he said that it was Mr. Ward who taught him to think "not with a lead pencil, but with my head. A lot of us think with pencils. But he said to me, 'Henry, why don't you learn to do things in your head? Learn to count up numbers mentally.' That lesson has been of great value to me all through my life."

These early teachers had much to give to their young pupils. They gave us not only the fundamentals of education but a philosophy of

life which has had its influence upon us and all of our generation. It was the philosophy of doing the job to the best of one's ability and of being thoughtful and considerate of others. The world was not such a confused place. We had time to enjoy the beauties of nature about us. Our teachers helped us to find the good things in life.

The school day began with a reading from the Bible and the reciting of the Lord's Prayer. Even the lessons in our *McGuffey's Readers* taught us honor, integrity, and fair play. Many modern educators look upon the one-room school of yesterday as a very inadequate form of education but I believe it was very sound in the fundamentals: reading, writing, and arithmetic, and in just learning to live with other people. The copybook, although it did not give one's imagination much leeway, did teach accuracy, neatness, and a sense of sticking to the job until it was done perfectly. One of the lessons we were taught was to take time to do the job well.

Our school days were not dreary ones as the long hours might indicate. Friendships were made which have lasted down through the years. Henry cherished the memory of his school days and the friendships made there. Dr. Edsel Ruddiman and Henry often reminisced about the days they sat together in the last seat in the row and carved their initials on the desk. Today one may see *E. A. R.* and *H. F.* on that same desk in the Scotch Settlement School, now used as one of the schools in Greenfield Village. When the school was ready for its first classes after being removed to Greenfield Village and rebuilt, Henry and Dr. Ruddiman went to school again, sat in the same last seat in the row, and looked at the initials they had carved there many years ago as young school boys. The memories of those years came back to them and they were little boys again. This was the kind of pleasure Henry enjoyed. He was a man who looked toward the future, but the past held dear memories for him.

Henry has been pictured working in his upstairs bedroom at a bench with a lantern at his feet to keep them warm. Henry's room was upstairs but his workbench was at the east window in the dining-room just inside the door. This was his and we did not disturb the tools on it. We had been taught to regard the rights of others. It is true that he made many of his own tools: a small screwdriver by filing the point from a shingle nail, tweezers from corset stays, and other tools from steel knitting needles. Father had a workshop in

which repairs were made upon the farm machinery. Henry had access to this tool shop, so it was quite natural that he should make many of his own tools as he needed them.

It seems that Henry was always tinkering or playing with something. His pockets were full of the treasures of a small boy: nuts, nails, pieces of string, a watch wheel, a spring, and many other odds and ends. Had I known what the future held for Henry in the way of mechanics, I surely would have been more tolerant, patient, and understanding of his experiments around home.

Not long ago, on one of my visits to Greenfield Village, I saw and recognized some of those early handmade tools of Henry's. He had collected and saved them when the shop and barn were cleared out at the time he had our house moved to Greenfield Village. This little collection of nuts, nails, tweezers, and screws would mean nothing to most people who saw it, but to me it brought back memories of our childhood days when Henry tinkered with his tools at his bench by the dining-room window and the rest of us watched him or went about our own business.

Fantastic stories which have no truth in them have been told about Henry fixing the neighbors' watches and clocks. No doubt some of the neighbors did let him tinker with their watches, but in those days a timepiece was a valuable article.

As I have said, Father was a prosperous farmer. We had the things we needed, but we were taught not to be extravagant. Possibly some of the persons recompensed Henry for his work, but I know that Father never told Henry he should charge for the work he did on the neighbors' watches and clocks. It was his hobby then just as it was in later years when he would slip into the McGill Jewelry Shop, which had been reconstructed in Greenfield Village, and repair a watch as he had done when a young man. This was real relaxation for him. He worked with his watches as any boy of today works with his mechanical sets and repairs or rebuilds automobiles. It was his hobby.

Henry did take things apart, and to the amazement of us all he usually put them together again without any parts left over. If something were missing or broken he was able to find a substitute for it from his collection of spare parts. When we had mechanical or "wind up" toys given to us at Christmas, we always said, "Don't let

Henry have them. He just takes them apart." He wanted to see what made them go rather than just to watch them go. We children enjoyed doing the latter. Thus early in life Henry learned by doing, a practice he followed all his life. Later this practice of learning by doing was introduced as part of the educational system followed in the Edison Institute schools of Greenfield Village.

Some authors have pictured Henry as aloof from his friends, moody, and lacking interest in the schoolyard games of duck-on-the-rock, ante-over and others. On the contrary, Henry was often the leader. It was he who had the ideas. Also he had the ability of getting his brothers and his companions to work for him. There probably was a little hero worship among the younger boys; to them Henry was a wonderful fellow. He could do things, such as make a running jump of sixteen feet when a twelve foot jump was considered by the others as very good. He knew the inner workings of a watch, and he could swim and skate farther than most of his companions. He often tried the patience of Father and me and exasperated us with his experiments. But now, as I look back upon those years at home, they were very important ones in Henry's life.

Our household was a normal one. The boys played tricks and teased my sister and me. Henry enjoyed a joke and was often the instigator behind many of the practical jokes played by the boys. They had chores to do: chop the kindling and keep the kitchen wood box filled, get the cows from the pasture on summer evenings, and help with the milking, feeding, and watering of the other stock. They harnessed the horses and helped with the plowing and harvest. And at times, like all boys, they tried to get out of doing their chores. I remember Henry leaving a task unfinished to go watch a threshing machine work.

We knew where the best hickory nuts, butternuts, and walnuts grew, for a nutting party in the fall was great fun. Later, when the boys were older, Father bought them a gun and they spent many hours tramping through the woods hunting for rabbits, squirrels, and other small game. One of the rules of hunting was that upon their return they cleaned their own game. Many a rabbit or squirrel pie we had for dinner. Henry used the gun, but he always had the other boys ask for powder, shot, and caps when Father did the weekly shopping.

Father was a tall and rather slight person. He gave one the impression of being very dignified, stern, and strict, which he was; but underneath the firmness he was very tolerant with us all, especially Henry. He had a keen sense of humor, a merry twinkle in his eyes, and enjoyed a good joke and boyish prank, providing no harm was done.

Card games were prohibited by some of the families in the neighborhood, but Father saw no harm in our playing cards around the dining-room table after the supper dishes were done and the chores finished. They were lively games, and as long as we played fairly without too much argument, Father read or rested on the couch just inside the sitting-room door. But when the game began to get too noisy and our voices were raised in argument, Father would step to the door or call to us that it was time to put the cards away. We knew the reason, and we also knew that no amount of persuasion on our part would change Father's command. He did not like bickering or arguing. I remember very well that, when we took petty complaints to him about some one not doing this or that, he would say, "If you cannot say something good about a person, don't say anything." But if the complaint were justified, he always listened attentively to both sides of the argument and weighed his decision carefully. We knew that we had been treated fairly, and each one respected his decision.

Father always was very just in his dealings with us and with his neighbors. He was well liked among the neighbors. He was ready to help others in time of need and in turn appreciated their help. Kindness and consideration of others was one of his characteristics. The animals on the farm were well cared for; no one was permitted to mistreat them in any way.

In later years I saw many of Father's characteristics in Henry. He enjoyed doing for others in his quiet, unassuming way. Money to Henry was only a means of giving pleasure to many people and more work for those in his factories and on his farms.

Civic affairs interested Father. He served a number of terms as a member of the school board and the road commission of Springwells Township. In 1877 he was justice of the peace. He took his turn on the Wayne County jury when called. I remember the occasion when he was appointed to serve on the committee investigating the new

electric cars. The city of Cleveland had previously changed from horse-drawn cars to those operated by electricity. Father went to Cleveland with a group of men from Detroit and Springwells to see these new cars in operation. The city council had proposed that the horse-drawn cars on Michigan Avenue be replaced by electric ones, and since the new line would run into Springwells the taxpayers there had a voice in the matter. The committee returned with a favorable report on Cleveland's new mode of transportation, and in due time electric cars replaced the horse-drawn ones in Detroit and its adjoining communities.

The *Wayne County Courier*, which gave personal news of our friends and neighbors; the *Michigan Farmer*, with its more varied news of interest to farmers; and a New York paper whose name I have forgotten, with its still wider interest, were eagerly looked for and read by us all. Thus Father kept abreast of the times, both locally and nationally. From these papers he learned of the improvements in farm machinery which brought about new methods of farming. He also subscribed to *Godey's Ladies Book* and another homemakers' magazine whose name has slipped from my memory. The Bible, the dictionary, and *McGuffey's Readers* were among the books on the book shelf which we read and reread.

An event which I am certain affected our early life and did much in influencing Henry's mechanical ambitions occurred in the fall of 1876, after Mother's death. The Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia had opened earlier in the year, and much had been written in the papers about the mechanical exhibits, the steam plow, and the road engines. Father and his neighbors were interested in seeing these exhibits, they talked a great deal about them, and finally, when they could leave late in the fall, they made the trip to Philadelphia. A nephew, George Ford, and two neighbors, William Leslie and Anthony Horger, went with Father. A train trip in those days was not an everyday experience, and I remember Father telling about his nephew being ready and waiting in the wagon long before time to start for the station. He was taking no chance of being left behind. It is a certainty that they planned their trip to coincide with the scheduled tests of the steam plows and road engines. The newspapers and magazines had had many articles about these new engines and the use of steam power as applied to engines smaller

than locomotives and marine engines. Progressive-minded farmers were becoming interested in the application of steam power for hauling farm equipment.

The party made the trip to Philadelphia by way of the Pennsylvania Railroad. This trip made a great impression upon Father, for on his return he told us about the beauties of the Pennsylvania mountains in all their October color, Independence Hall, and other interesting things he saw in the historical city. He enjoyed this trip very much and never tired of telling about his experiences and the wonders of steam power. A small ivory pendant and a glass slipper from the Centennial were our prized possessions for many years.

Scientific progress, changes, and new ideas were to be seen everywhere. Father and his friends saw in the exhibits at the Centennial the promise of this new mechanical age then coming into its own. This trip made them realize more and more that changes were being made in their way of life. It is my belief that the stories of the mechanical exhibits and the wonderful things that could be accomplished by steam power did much to inspire Henry in his ambitions to learn more about machinery and steam engines. One can understand how a boy of thirteen who was interested in mechanics would have listened attentively to these stories. It is possible that Father's trip provided a link between the men who were then working to provide better and more useful transportation and the fertile and imaginative mind of his son who later was to develop these ideas and give form and substance to what at that time was a dream of things to come.

The new age of science and mechanics was ushered in by the Centennial Exhibition of 1876. Father and his friends constantly speculated upon what this was to mean to the average farmer and to the man on the street. An imaginative boy with a mechanical bent who heard these speculations was impressed. That boy remembered and experimented. When he grew up, that man was as responsible, I believe, as much as any one man could be for giving to the average farmer and to the common man many of the fruits of that wonderful new age of science foretold at the Centennial. The success of Henry made the age of science one of triumph of the common man.

For many years I have been very concerned about the stories indicating a lack of understanding between Henry and Father. Henry and I discussed this many times, but he put off doing anything about correcting the stories. However, I feel that in Henry's own mind he knew that he and Father had understood each other perfectly. To him that was the important thing. In discussing this matter of the relationship between Henry and Father with Clara, she felt that this current idea of misunderstanding should be corrected. I think she summed it up very well by saying "There seldom are two men who understood and respected each other as thoroughly as did Henry and his father."

Father was not as mechanically minded as Henry. It was as a carpenter that Father excelled. However, the farm machinery was kept in excellent repair even before Henry was old enough to work on it. Henry thought things out more quickly than Father did. There were, no doubt, differences of opinion as to the way a job should be done, but no greater than between fathers and sons of today. Henry could see how a job might be done more quickly and with less effort, thus saving time and energy. Father was very methodical in everything he did. He preferred the tried and true way, but nevertheless he was willing to learn new methods and to purchase new farm equipment if it was practical and did an efficient job. I remember that as these new pieces of farm equipment came onto the market, Father purchased them one by one. We had a McCormick reaper, a mowing machine, hay loaders, and horse-drawn rakes; all these helped to lighten the farm work. The Scotch Settlement was a progressive community, each farmer sharing his piece of equipment with a neighbor or helping him with his work.

There were family discussions and differences of opinions as there are in all normal families, and no doubt there were many times when Father questioned the wisdom of Henry's decisions, but at no time were there serious quarrels or any kind of family trouble. This phase of Henry's life has been so dramatized that to many it is a reality, and since Henry did not correct these ideas, many persons have assumed that it was true that all was not well between father and son. If Henry had not succeeded, if he had remained an unknown mechanic, I doubt that the public would have been interested in our family life.

From the time Henry was able to toddle about, he was with Father a great deal, watching him work with his tools, learning his ways, and wanting to help as all little boys do. He has often said, "Tools were my toys." As Henry grew older, Father gave him the opportunity of fixing things at home. Then as he gained experience, he helped the neighbors with their repairs. Since Father was handy with tools he was very proud that Henry had inherited this ability to fix things.

As I have said, Henry wanted things done with the least loss of time and energy. If a job could be done more simply that was the way it should be done. The farm gates were heavy to open and close, so Henry made hinges for these gates and a device for opening and closing them without getting off the wagon. Father was quick to recognize Henry's ability in making new things. He was very understanding of Henry's demands for new tools for the shop, and ours was one of the best equipped in the neighborhood. It contained a forge and many of the tools used in the larger farm tool repair shops. Every farm, no matter how small, had a building called the shop in which small repairs were made on farm machinery, wagons, harness, and so forth. Since Father was a carpenter and craftsman himself, our work shop was better equipped than most in the neighborhood. Thus many of the neighbors came to Father when an emergency repair job was needed, for Detroit and even Dearborn were quite a distance away, and in the busy planting and harvest seasons time saved was important.

It is quite natural that Father should be somewhat disappointed that his eldest son was not interested in farming as farming was being done in those days. Father loved the soil and did not mind the hard work, for the freedom that came with owning his own land compensated for the long hours of work. He could still remember the days of his youth in Ireland.

Henry has been quoted as saying, and I have heard him make the remark many times, that there was too much hard work connected with farming. As a young boy he felt that there should be easier methods. Plowing seemed to be the hardest task for both men and horses. The clay soil was heavy to work but produced good crops. As a lively boy with a creative mind he found it monotonous walking up and down a field exerting the considerable strength and skill

necessary to plow a straight furrow. Henry knew that one had to work for the things one obtained, but he reasoned that if a field could be plowed more quickly and with less effort by using some kind of mechanical device he would have more time to do other things.

From the time Henry first saw a steam road engine operating on its own power, he dreamed that he might in some way apply the steam power to something that would help make the plowing easier. Up to this time the portable engine and boiler were mounted on a wagon, and a water tank and coal cart trailed behind, all being hauled by teams of horses. These engines were used for threshing grain and running sawmills. Well do I remember the excitement, hustle and bustle when the threshing engine and all the equipment were hauled into the yard, usually late in the afternoon so that work could begin early the next morning. The boys all helped to drive the teams, carry water, and do other odd jobs.

Father had seen these steam road engines operated at the Centennial. Of course Henry had heard Father and the neighbors discuss the merits of such new-fangled engines. When Henry and Father saw the first one in the neighborhood, both were interested. The engineer stopped to let the team pass, because these engines made considerable noise and frightened the horses. Henry was asking the engineer questions and no doubt was up on the engine before Father realized what was happening. This engine, made by Nichols and Shepard Company of Battle Creek, made a lasting impression on Henry. It was after this experience that he really started to experiment with steam.

During the next few years it seemed that Henry dreamed of steam engines both day and night. I remember very well that after I had taken over the housekeeping, Henry made a number of experiments with steam. When the fire in the stove was burning well and I was busy with the cooking, Henry placed on the stove a little brass cylinder filled with water. There was some kind of valve on it so that when the pressure of steam was sufficient, a little watch wheel on top of the cylinder turned, and as the steam came out it made a shrill whistling sound just like the whistling tea kettles of today. I would jump, and Henry thought that a good joke. This little gadget was around the house for many years, and when I gave it

to Henry some time later after he had become an expert with steam engines he was very pleased to have it again, for he realized that it was one of his earliest experiments in the use of steam and it brought back memories of his boyhood to him.

Not long ago I was visiting with a friend who had been one of Henry's helpers in the steam experiments. He told about the "puffer" that the teenage Henry and younger companions set up on the north bank of Roulo Creek not far from our house. The principal equipment was an old dishpan and a large oilcan. The dishpan was turned upside down and pushed securely into the side of the bank. A fire was made of slab wood which the helpers had carried from home or picked up as they went along. They were the ones to bring the water up the bank and fill the oilcan about two-thirds full. The fire burned under the dishpan; the water boiled in the oilcan placed on the upside down dishpan. Ingenuity had been used in construction of the oilcan. It had two metal upright supports, soldered firmly, one to each side of the covered top. Each support had a hole drilled through it near the top. Through these holes ran a horizontal shaft. On one end of this shaft was placed a wheel, on the opposite end an attachment with four little one-inch fans. Almost directly under the fans an opening was made in the body of the can, otherwise the can was tightly closed with a cork in the spigot which acted as a safety valve. The fire burned, the water boiled, the steam came up through the opening beneath the fans, the fans turned the wheel. Success and happiness had been achieved. Steam had been harnessed and made to do a specific job.

When the west fence at the Miller School burned, the fire may have been started by the "puffer" that was being demonstrated that day. The fire spread rapidly among the dry grass and leaves along the fence and in no time a part was destroyed. Father rebuilt that portion of the schoolyard fence, and you may be sure the boys received due punishment for that particular experiment.

There was another incident at the Miller School which, though not dealing with steam, had a certain bearing on Henry's experiments at that time. The story has been told many times about Henry and the boys building a dam and a water wheel in a small stream near the school. They worked hard for a number of days during recess and noon hour collecting stones and placing them in the stream so

that the water would be held back. Finally the dam was completed and the paddle wheel put in place. Slowly the wheel turned. How delighted they were to see the water flow over the dam. Their ability as budding construction engineers had been proven. When the school bell rang, ending the noon recess, their fun was called to a halt. The principle of the water wheel had been demonstrated and probably forgotten as the boys trooped back into classes. At the end of the day as they all hurried home at four o'clock, the dam and its effect upon the surrounding fields were forgotten. Although the water backed up into a field during the night, no serious damage was done. The farmer whose field was flooded was quite provoked and could not understand why boys should get into mischief and why they should be interested in such things. The dam was removed and the stream flowed on as before. But the fun those boys had in building it was a memory not to be forgotten. When the Miller School was rebuilt in Greenfield Village, the dam and water wheel were constructed in front of the school.

This same helper of Henry's told me of another incident which happened along Roulo Creek. The Michigan Central Railroad, just south of Michigan Road, crossed Roulo Creek on a little two-span bridge. The heavy wooden beams of the bridge had become time-worn and had to be replaced. This was a real engineering job, not to be missed by the men and boys of the neighborhood. On this particular day the work train was there with all of its equipment. There was an engine and three flatcars containing two derricks and the new spans for the bridge. By the clever handling of the derricks, the spans of the old bridge were being quickly and rapidly replaced by the new ones. Before the job was completed, however, there was an interruption. A message was sent out that two passenger trains from Detroit had to go through. The work train was on the north span, which had not yet been repaired. The south span had just been swung into place but the rails had not been laid. The north span must be cleared quickly, therefore the work train prepared to pull out to Dearborn a few miles to the west. In those days engines were equipped with good-sized cowcatchers. And who should be comfortably seated on the cowcatcher of this engine but Henry, legs outstretched. He was just in the act of persuading some of his friends to join him on this exciting trip. The engineer looked out

of the cab window, saw what the boys were about to do, and ordered them to get off and stay off. That bit of adventure had been nipped in the bud. However, not to be deprived of the fun of riding on a flatcar, Henry and the boys hopped aboard the car with the remaining new north span and rode to Dearborn.

On Saturdays and during the summer when the boys had finished their work at home, Henry, the leader, his brothers, and some of the neighbor boys would go off to play along the banks of Roulo Creek and sometimes even as far as the Rouge River. Roulo Creek was a little stream, a tributary of the Rouge River, which in turn flowed into the Detroit River. The creek flowed in a southeasterly direction not far from the Scotch Settlement School and also not far from our home. The boys spent many happy hours during the year along its banks, swimming and fishing in summer and skating in winter. The favorite swimming hole in the Rouge was about a mile south of Michigan Avenue. There lovely water lillies grew quite a ways from the banks. Henry was the only one who dared to swim out that far to pick them. In winter the Rouge offered excellent skating. When the ice was six or ten inches thick the boys used to skate down Roulo Creek to the Rouge River, down the river past the land where the Ford Rouge Plant is located and on to the Detroit River, then up that river to Woodward Avenue in Detroit. It was a much more thrilling way to travel to town than walking or riding in a wagon.

I knew nothing about many of these things that Henry and the boys did. I have included these incidents because they seemed to round out Henry's life as a boy who was interested in steam and in the happenings of the neighborhood.

Saturdays were shopping days. For the boys, Henry and John, that meant a trip with Father to the Haymarket in Detroit, which was located in the area now occupied by Briggs Stadium. Hay, grain, and wood were some of the things Father had orders for and delivered regularly; apples, potatoes, and other small farm products were seasonal and were taken to market when there was a surplus. The hay and grain were sold to livery stables. Since all delivery and trucking were done with horses, there was always a ready market for hay, grain, and straw. Sometimes the boys rode on top of a load of hay, and sometimes in the spring wagon. Often in winter they

went to market in the bobsled with a load of cordwood. It was always lots of fun and offered new experiences for them.

During the winter Father, the hired man, and the boys when they were free cleared a wood lot, sawed the logs with a crosscut saw into stove-length pieces, and piled them in neat piles to season. During the year a cord at a time was taken to market. Wood was used by many families for both heating and cooking.

Father enjoyed the companionship of his children and was the happiest when we were all together or when he was doing things with the boys. On these trips to the Haymarket, after the business had been transacted and the hay or grain delivered, Father and the boys often stopped to explore sights of interest in Detroit. On the way home they did the shopping for the week.

It was on these trips that the boys became acquainted with many of Father's friends and customers. One person in particular was James Flower, the owner of the James Flower Brothers and Company, who was one of Father's regular customers and also a very good friend. Many of the larger machine shops and trucking companies had their stables and barns adjoining. That was the way it was at the James Flower Brothers and Company. I have no doubt that these trips with Father to the James Flower Brothers machine shop had much to do with Henry's first interest in machinery and his later desire to be a machinist. It is not difficult for one to imagine the thrill a young boy would get in watching the wheels go round in a busy shop, for at that time the Flowers machine shop was well known and one of the best and busiest in Detroit.

Mr. James Flower and his wife were frequent visitors at our home. Mrs. Flower was acquainted with our mother's family, the Litogots and her foster parents, the O'Herns. Thus a close relationship between the families existed. Quite often when Mr. Flower needed an extra order of hay delivered, he and his wife would drive out on a Sunday to give the order and have a visit with old friends. I cannot say that Father and Mr. Flower discussed Henry's ambition to become a mechanic, but it seems very likely. As Mr. Flower was acquainted with the boys and probably had seen some of Henry's "inventions" during his visits to the farm, he knew of Henry's ambition to learn more about steam engines. It may have been a coincidence that Henry's first job was as an apprentice in Mr. Flower's

machine shop, but I feel that some kind of previous arrangement had been made. Since he had been there many times with Father, it seems very natural that he should go there to seek his first job.

I wish to make clear the fact that we knew that at some time Henry would go to Detroit to learn more about steam engines and machinery. However, no time had been set and we did not know just when he would feel that he should begin his work and study. I am sure that Father and Henry had discussed his leaving and the time had been left up to him. Of course Father was disappointed that Henry did not wish to continue life on the farm, but if learning about machinery was what he wanted to do, Father would not hinder him. My feeling is that Henry had planned this step forward very carefully, as he always had a reason and a motive for his actions. When Henry left with John and Will for the Miller School as usual one morning, Henry continued on to Detroit, either walking or riding with a farmer going in on Michigan Avenue, and did not return from school that afternoon, we were surprised, but Father knew then that Henry had made the great decision of his life to study and learn to be a mechanic.

The dramatic stories that have been told about Henry, the farm boy running away from home in order to pursue his life work, make thrilling reading, but when they are not true, I believe these stories should be corrected. Henry did not have to walk the streets trying to find a boarding house whose weekly rate would meet his wages, for he stayed with Aunt Rebecca Flaherty, father's sister, who lived with her family in Detroit. Henry had visited there many times on his trips to town with Father. Aunt Rebecca lived on Franklin Street about one block south of Jefferson Avenue quite a way out, as we took the Jefferson Avenue streetcar. When Henry did not return home that evening, Father did not become unduly alarmed. He had faith in his son and knew that he would return home in due time. We, in our time, have become dependent upon the telephone for quick communication and fail to remember that a letter by mail or messenger was the only way of communicating with our friends in town in those days. Henry did return home that Saturday night. He told us that he had been at Aunt Rebecca's and that he was working at the James Flower Brothers and Company. He had

secured a job repairing watches in the evening at the jewelry shop of Robert Magill to help with his board and room rent. He seemed to be so happy to be doing the things he had dreamed about that even Father became reconciled to the thought that perhaps it was a good thing for Henry to have the experience he was gaining. As he said at the time, a little more knowledge about machinery would never come amiss on the farm. By this time Father and the neighbors had come to depend upon Henry for many of the repairs made on the farm machinery.

Henry inherited from his ancestors that kind of courage which prompted them to leave their homes, their friends, and relatives to make new homes in a wilderness country. It took that same kind of courage for a sixteen-year old boy to leave his home and family for the first time to make his way in a new kind of life. Later it took the same kind of courage to continue with his experiments of the gasoline engine and his idea of the horseless carriage when all his friends and fellow workers said such a thing was not practical and could not be done. I believe that many times in later life, it was that same courage that guided him in the many revolutionary ideas he put into effect.

It was in the late fall or early winter of 1879 that Henry went to Detroit. The apprenticeship years were busy ones. I had taken over the task of mothering the family and keeping house. There was much for a twelve-year old to learn. There was John, Jane, and William, who was now the youngest since the death of little Robert a few years after our mother's. They were in school. The events of these next few years came in rapid succession, time passed quickly, and it is difficult to recall the exact dates of certain incidents in Henry's life.

Work at the James Flower Brothers and Company and later at the Detroit Dry Dock Company kept Henry very busy. He was a conscientious worker, learned quickly, and spent much of his spare time reading about engines. Thus he completed his apprenticeship in less than the three years usually required. Weekends were spent at home, helping Father and the boys, making repairs on the farm machinery, and experimenting with an engine or two that he had set up in the shop. He was very happy now that he was really working with steam engines.

After finishing his apprenticeship, he worked with a representative of the Westinghouse Air Brake Company traveling through this part of the state setting up and repairing its road engines. These engines were used as tractors to haul heavy loads such as threshing machines. The engines themselves were very large and costly. Only a man working a very large farm or doing threshing as a business could afford to own one.

After working with these cumbersome engines, Henry realized that the kind of engine required to do the heavier farm work such as plowing, which he disliked most, must be a light-weight one, not too costly, and adaptable to many uses.

Henry returned to the farm in 1884 to learn by doing. He had built and repaired engines. Now he wanted time to think and experiment with light-weight ones. He was a master mechanic now. The farm workshop was an up-to-date one giving him the opportunity to work out his ideas.

During the next few years Henry worked on the farm with Father and the boys. For three months during the winter of 1884-85, he attended the Bryant and Stratton Business University, living at home and going to town each day. In the harvest season he worked with John Gleason, who had a steam threshing machine. Henry operated this engine with his helpers. Some of these young men were the same helpers who had played with Henry and his "puffer" a number of years before. He was just twenty-one and the other young men just about that age too. To some of the old-time farmers who threshed with horse power, Henry and his group seemed pretty young to be managing such a large steam engine. They worked hard and proved that their method was just as good and saved time and energy, both man power and horse power. This group traveled from farm to farm throughout the neighborhood.

About this time Father gave Henry the use of the Moir eighty acre farm which he had acquired some years before. I remember when he purchased this farm and wood lot. We were at a picnic. After the lunch had been put away, little groups gathered together to discuss the topics of the day. The ladies were interested in the latest styles and exchanged recipes, the men compared crops and discussed the new methods of farming, and the children played here and there among the groups of grown-ups. Father heard that the

Moir farm was for sale. It was a good farm with fertile soil and quite a large piece of timberland which could be cut and sold for a profit. The farm was located less than a mile from our home on the northeast corner of what is now Southfield and Ford roads. Father was so anxious to get this piece of land before it was sold to someone else that we had to leave the picnic early. That is probably the reason I remember when Father bought that particular piece of land. During the years Father had acquired quite a bit of land, some adjoining his original farm, other pieces at a little distance. He planned that each of his children should have a farm or piece of land of their own.

I think that it was about 1886 or 1887 that Henry set up a sawmill and portable engine on his own property close to the side of the road, now Southfield Road. He operated this during the winter. The sawmill was located on a rise of ground which gradually sloped to the south. It was about three hundred feet from the county ditch which provided the water for his steam engine. A long pipe attached to a pump placed on a platform by the side of the ditch carried the water to the higher ground where stood the engine that operated the sawmill. A well about ten feet square and seven feet deep had been dug quite close to the engine. This well formed a basin to hold the water needed for the engine. Here was another pump which pumped the water into the boiler, which was fired by slabs of wood. Henry not only cut wood from his own land but the neighbors brought logs from their own wood lots to be cut into lumber for repairs on their buildings or into stove lengths for their own use. Sleighs or stoneboats were used to haul the logs, the latter when the roads were dry. Henry owned a pair of oxen which he used to pull the logs into place. Oxen worked more steadily than horses and were not easily frightened by the noise of the steam engine.

At this time Henry cut the timber for his own home which he built a year or so later about a quarter of a mile from the sawmill.

It has been said that the reason Henry returned to the farm was because Father was ill and had demanded that he give up his work in the city to manage the farm. Father, the boys, and a hired man had been getting along very well, but at the busy planting and harvest seasons an extra man was always needed. That was not the

reason for Henry's return to the farm at that time. As I have said, he wanted time to think and plan. These are the "in between years" of Henry's life. He read a great deal about the new kinds of engines, particularly gasoline-powered ones, and I believe that it was at this time that he had an opportunity to see and repair one. For experience he built one and found that it was light in weight and more adaptable to light vehicles than the steam engines he had previously built. Also, these engines were not quite so dangerous.

One Sunday Henry and I attended church services in Dearborn. It was a beautiful day in early spring, but the frost was not all out of the ground and the clay roads were almost impassable. The mud rolled up on the wheels of the light buggy and the horse had difficulty drawing it. The text of the sermon had been "Hitch your wagon to a star." As we traveled along slowly towards home, watching the horse, discussing the sermon, and remarking on the condition of the roads, Henry said "That's what I am going to do." His "star" was going to be some kind of transportation which would enable people to get around easier and with less work for the horses. Up to this time he had been working on a farm tractor for lightening the work of the farmer. Now he began considering some kind of motorized transportation to replace the horse. However, even after the horseless carriage had become an automobile, many an auto owner was very glad to have the good old horse come to his rescue and pull his car out of the mud. I have often wondered how Henry even considered such a thing as a power-driven vehicle when the roads were so impassable at times; snow in winter, mud in spring and fall, and dust and ruts in summer.

With this new challenge of applying his knowledge of engines to a kind of transportation, he studied and worked even harder than before. It is a certainty Father and Henry had many man-to-man talks about the advantages of continuing to live and work on the farm and the disadvantages of living and working for someone else in a city shop or factory. Father pointed out that the man on the farm was his own boss, he could be sure of a reasonably good living for his family, security, also sunshine not offered to factory workers, and good clean fresh air. The factory worker's hours were long, so were the farmers; but factory employment and wages were uncertain

and many of the factories were of the sweat shop variety and left much to be desired in the way of cleanliness and orderliness.

In later years cleanliness and orderliness were outstanding characteristics of the Ford factories. Henry has attributed this to his early training and to the cleanliness and orderliness of our own home, but I believe there were other motives. He wanted to improve the factories and the working conditions of the men and make his factories a model for others to follow.

It was not all work and no play for Henry and the young people of the community. Parties were few and far between, but the good times we had at them are cherished memories.

A sleigh ride on a clear cold night with the full moon riding high was always lots of fun. We all bundled up well with one or more buffalo robes to keep us warm and had plenty of clean straw on the bottom of the box on the bobsled. The boys often ran along keeping up with the horses, jumped on and off the sled, and rode on the runners. Sleigh bells, happy laughter, and song echoed through the quiet countryside, all other sounds hushed by the thick blanket of snow. These parties always ended up at the home of one of the crowd. Coffee, cider, cake, cookies, apples, and popcorn were the refreshments. The most delicious popcorn was always provided by one of the girls. It was served in large pans, each one helping himself. Syrup had been poured over the white fluffy kernels to hold them together. The parties started early in the evening and ended before it was too late.

A strawberry festival was one of the popular ways of raising money for the church. Sometimes these were held at a home in the evening so that the entire family could attend, sometimes at the church. Often the ladies of Christ Episcopal Church held theirs at noon on the grounds of the arsenal in Dearborn. These were community affairs, not for just the church members themselves, but all who wished to attend. Wherever the festival was held, it had been well named, for there was always plenty of the deliciously ripe red strawberries served in large bowls with lots of rich thick cream. Sometimes homemade ice cream accompanied the berries, and always cakes and cookies. Each lady brought her very best and favorite cake, but on this day the strawberry was queen and held the place of honor. As I remember, no other entertainment was planned.

There were other group gatherings: quilting bees, and barn raisings. These were usually for the older persons of the community.

There was a lively group of young people attending Grace Methodist Episcopal Church or Grace M. E. Church as it was more often referred to. The young folk of both Greenfield and the Scotch Settlement attended gatherings there. The meetings of the Bayview Reading Circle, an organized study course sponsored by the Grace M. E. Church, were held in the homes of the members, and a social hour always followed the more serious part of the meetings. John and I attended quite regularly. It was not until after Henry was married that he and Clara joined the group.

About this time Henry had his first violin and learned to play a few tunes. One of his friends told me recently that "Sallie Waters" was the tune he remembered when Henry, with brother Will carrying the violin, used to come to his house. Today Henry's collection of violins is famous.

We attended dances at the Martindale House on Grand River Road in Greenfield once in a while. Henry enjoyed these dances. He was light on his feet and became an expert in the steps of the square dance and waltz. It was there that Henry met Clara Bryant. The first time they met was about two years before their marriage; the second time was at a New Year's Eve dance about a year later. It was at this latter meeting that Henry showed Clara the watch with four hands he had made. The reason for such a watch was that about 1885 there was quite a controversy over the merits of sun time and standard time. Sun time was the accepted time; standard time, one hour faster, was advocated by many for this part of the country. It was very confusing, just as daylight saving time has proven to be in our own day. In his tinkering with watches Henry made one which was quite a curiosity to all who saw it. It had two sets of hands; one for sun time and one for standard time. That evening Henry showed the watch to Clara as they waited for the next dance to begin. As Clara has said, she was greatly impressed by this "very sensible and serious minded young man."

Clara Bryant Ford and I have been friends for many years. We were girls together in the Bayview Reading Circle in Greenfield. The young people of Springwells and Greenfield joined together in many of the social events of the community. There were the corn-

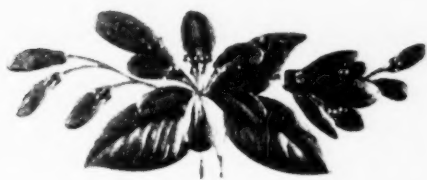
husking parties, the cutter, sleigh, and hay rides which usually ended with an oyster supper at someone's house, church socials, and dances at the Martindale House on Grand River. We played hard but also worked hard.

After Henry met Clara, we became well acquainted with her. We liked her very much, for she was an attractive, friendly, and vivacious person. One episode in their courtship, which has been overlooked and which I think deserves telling because it reveals so much of the character of both Henry and Clara, occurred in the fall of 1887. At this time Father wanted to have some new land cleared of timber and the stumps. This was the hardest kind of work and required many men and their teams. Henry tackled this job with enthusiasm when he had secured from Mr. Gleason one of the steam road engines with which he had worked the previous summer. He was very proud to demonstrate how much easier and better such a machine could do this work than could the men and teams. Whenever Clara and I could get away, he had us ride on the engine with him and we went on it into the fields where we could watch him operate the machine. He was so enthused at that time with this way of taking so much hard work out of farming that he could talk of little else. Clara and I were good listeners but, I must confess, all this talk meant little to us at the time. I am sure, however, that Clara's willingness to ride on this engine and to go into the fields and watch Henry at his work further convinced him that she was the proper girl for his wife.

At the time, Clara and I considered all of this as good fun, but I wonder now if Clara, even then, was not dreaming a bit with Henry of the days which were to come later when she would be on the seat with him for the first rides in his horseless carriage?

The following spring Clara and Henry were married. It was early in the evening of April 11, 1888, that relatives and friends of Clara's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Melvin Bryant, gathered together in the parlor of the Bryant home on Monnier (now Schaefer) Road for the marriage of Clara to Henry Ford, the young farmer-mechanic. They spoke their vows before the Rev. Stephan W. Frisbie, minister of Saint Paul's Church, the Episcopal church in Greenfield.

Henry was full of fun, cheerful, high-spirited, affectionate and sympathetic. When he had once set his mind on a point he also



Be so good as to  
accept your presence at the marriage  
ceremony of their daughter

Clara,

to

Henry Ford

on Wednesday April 15th, 1888.

at 11 A.M.

at their residence,

Greenfield, N.H.

WEDDING INVITATION OF HENRY AND CLARA BRYANT FORD

In the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen.



**This is to Certify**

That on the *Eleventh* day of *April*

In the Year of Our Lord

One Thousand Eight Hundred and *Eighty Eight*

at Township of *Greenfield*

in the Diocese of *Michigan*

**I joined together in Holy Matrimony**

*Henry Ford*

and

*Clara Bryant*

according to the Rites of the Protestant Episcopal Church

in the United States of America, and in conformity with

the Laws of the State of *Michigan*

In Witness Whereof I have hereunto set my name this

*11<sup>th</sup>* day of *April* A.D. One

Thousand Eight Hundred and *Eighty Eight*

*William Ford* *S. H. Miller*

*Mrs. Martha Bryant* *Witness* Rector of St. James

*Detrol Mich*

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE

could be stubborn to the point of obstinacy. I knew he needed a wife who would understand him and who would stand by and give him the encouragement and help he needed in making decisions. I knew that she would have to have a lot of patience and tolerance for his fun-loving pranks. She would have to have a great deal of enthusiasm to allow herself to be carried along with him when he started to tell of the things which he knew he could accomplish in the world of mechanics. She would have to lead and guide him in many ways. The responsibilities of being "Henry Ford's wife" were heavy from the start. Clara Bryant Ford accepted them, and their marriage was an outstanding success. She was a most important factor in his later accomplishments. If I were asked to name the most important single factor in his success, I should say that it was his marriage to Clara Bryant.

The published stories of the courtship years and subsequent marriage of Clara and Henry are amusing and as works of fiction are colorful. I do not feel that these stories do justice to the individuals involved. Their acquaintance before and their life after their marriage was like that of the other young people of the community. Henry had a good farm, a small house, a wood lot from which to cut lumber for a new home, and his family and friends. However, Henry did differ from the other young men of the community in one respect. He had worked with steam and gas engines in Detroit and he had an ambition to put this knowledge and experience into use. He had an enthusiasm for tackling the difficult problems of farm work and trying to make them easier. Some of the young men of the neighborhood were quite content to go on doing things as they had been done. Not so with Henry. A tractor or horseless carriage seemed to be the answer. Criticism and ridicule of Henry's new ideas by the neighbors only made him more determined to show them that farm work could be made easier and more profitable.

I am sure that anything I may now say will have little effect upon those who prefer to accept the highly fictionalized versions of this period in my brother's life. Many incidents have been lost to memory, but many others are still vivid.

Henry and Clara did not live with us after they were married, but started housekeeping in their own small home on their own farm. My brother John, sister Jane, and I helped Henry redecorate

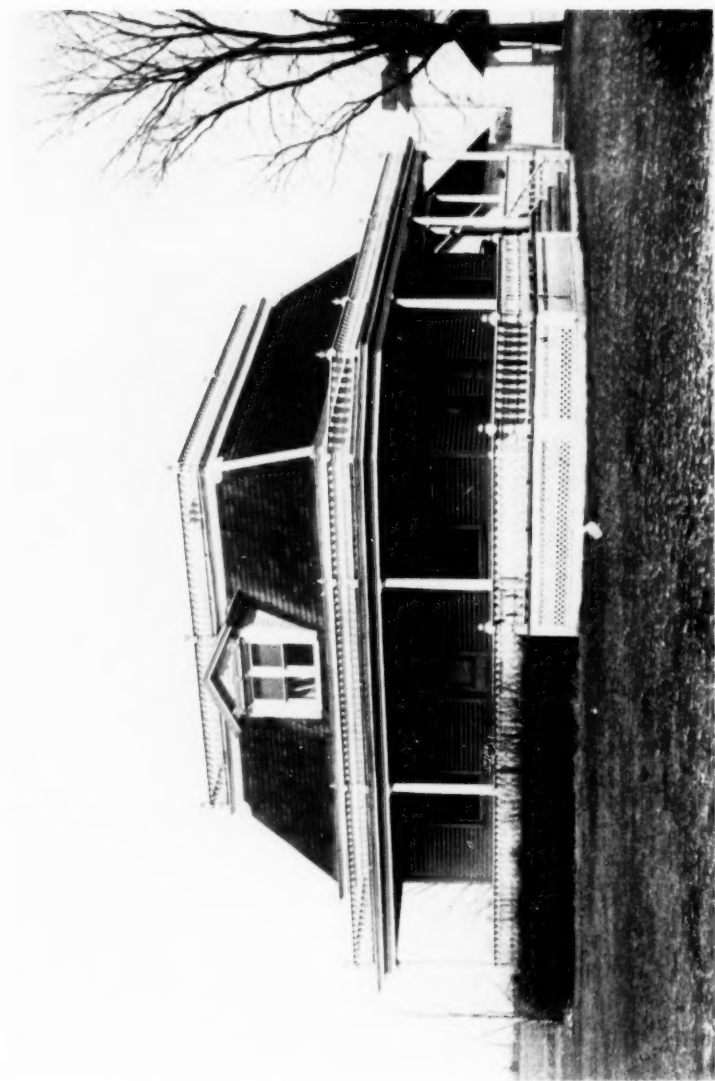
the tenant house on his farm. This was their first home. It stood back in the field not far from the corner of Southfield and Ford roads. They lived there for about a year while Henry cut the timber from his wood lot for the new house which was being planned. The new house, a square white frame building, was located just east of Southfield Road on the north side of Ford Road. They lived in this house for about three years. Henry worked his farm, ran a portable sawmill during the winter months and helped Mr. Gleason with his threshing machine during the harvest. I am sure that during this time he was thinking and planning of the work he was to do later.

I recall the first time Clara and I discussed Henry's idea for a horseless carriage. I had known for many years that Henry had considered that horses were inefficient for many jobs, since it took many horses and their owners for jobs such as the stump-pulling job which Clara and I watched. As far back as I can recall, he was determined "to do something about it." We did not understand just what he had in mind until he began to talk about a horseless carriage shortly after his marriage, just when it seemed that he and Clara were getting nicely settled in their new home on the farm. This talk seemed strange to all of us because we could not quite understand how one could move a carriage on the road without a horse. Clara has told me of the wonderment with which she greeted his first suggestion that such a thing was possible.

I have heard both Henry and Clara tell the story of the first time he suggested the horseless carriage to her. They were sitting in their new home on the farm in the evening discussing various things. He had just seen a new gasoline engine in town that day. Henry told her then that he was going to build a horseless carriage. She wondered how such a thing could be done and at his request secured a piece of blank paper on which he proceeded to sketch out the plan he had in mind. She has told me that the paper she found was the blank sheet on the back of a piece of music which she had on their organ. She also has told me that she did not have the slightest idea how all the things were to be done which Henry talked about doing. She has said she knew that if he said such things could be done this was sufficient for her. She had complete confidence that he could do them, and that confidence in him continued. Clara has said that



HENRY AND CLARA BRYANT FORD'S FIRST HOME



THE HOME HENRY FORD BUILT AFTER HIS MARRIAGE

Henry seemed to have had the idea for the machine well worked out in his mind and that he was able with this simple drawing and explanation to convey to her the idea for the machine which he intended to build.

Henry always recognized her confidence as an important factor in his success. In *My Life and Work* by Samuel Crowther, he said "I always am certain of results. They always come if you work hard enough. But it was a very great thing to have my wife even more confident than I was. She has always been that way." Henry from the start of their marriage always called Clara "the great believer." She was able to share all of Henry's enthusiasm for his new ideas. She gave him a quiet encouragement and understanding which bolstered his confidence and helped him carry through the work which he had undertaken. Her sympathetic understanding stood Henry in good stead many, many times before his work was finished.

There are many reasons why Clara should be given much credit for the successes which she and Henry achieved. At a time when most young wives were seeking the security of a settled home on a good farm, she was willing to give up their new home, a good farm, and go to Detroit with him. He had told her he wanted to take a job at the Edison Illuminating Company in Detroit so that he could learn more about electricity. He felt he should give up the farm for this opportunity. She has told me that this decision "almost broke her heart," but that she was sure that it was one which had to be made if Henry was to be happy. At the time all of us wondered at her courage in making such a change. Without her encouragement and her willingness to make this move I am sure that the fortunes and life of my brother would have been far different than they were.

Henry had secured his job at the Edison Illuminating Company and early in the fall of 1891 they moved to Detroit.

There is a prevalent notion, which I have read and have heard frequently, that Henry was not a successful farmer and that was the reason for his returning to Detroit. This is an erroneous notion. As I have said, Henry and Clara were well settled in their new home. Henry had cut off the timber from the land and had operated his farm successfully so that he had money in the bank when he went to Detroit. The later successes of the Ford Motor Company and the importance of the outside financing it received has obscured the fact

that Henry and Clara financed the first car themselves out of their savings and out of the money saved from his earnings as an engineer at the Edison Illuminating Company.

Clara also was a person who could and did adapt herself cheerfully to the requirements of the time. My brothers, John and Will, had a milk route in Detroit during the time Clara and Henry first went to live in Detroit and they often called on them to see how things were going. Father frequently sent them produce from the farm. Henry sometimes was so absorbed in his work at this time that Clara was very lonesome and on several such occasions rode out to the farm with the boys. Henry came out later when his work was done at the Edison Illuminating Company. Never at this time, nor in the more difficult days which were to follow, did I hear Clara complain of the choice which she had helped Henry to make. She always had a supreme confidence that it had been "the right thing to do."

Henry and Clara lived at 570 Forest Avenue until the early part of December, 1893. At this time Henry was working nights, and when he left work, often the street cars had stopped running for the night, and Henry would have to walk home. It was quite a distance, and during the winter it proved to be a real hardship. Edsel was born November 6, 1893, and a little more than a month later they moved to 58 Bagley Avenue.

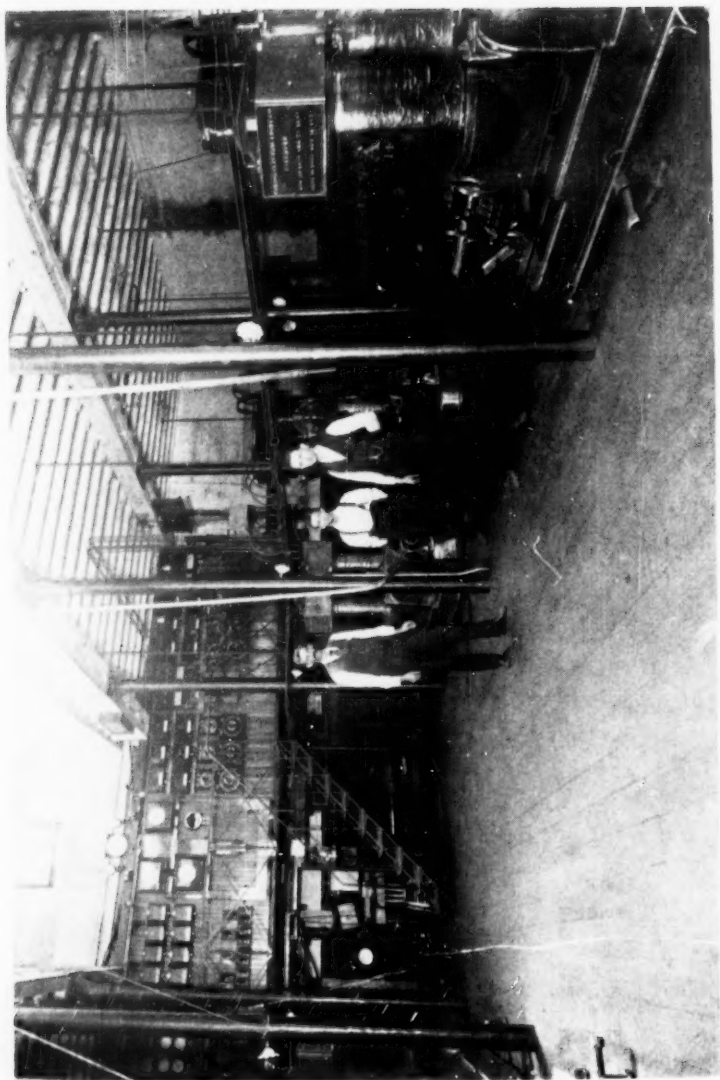
Clara and I were visiting about these days once and she told me then about how well she remembers going to the bank and drawing out their money as it was needed for the parts for the first little car. She still remembers how she wondered many times if she would live to see the bank balance restored. Her only concern then was the immediate one; that Henry needed parts for his work. She wanted to be sure that there was sufficient money in the bank to pay for them.

She did not then and never did want to take any credit for Henry's success. She felt that she did only those things that any real wife should do for her husband. When Henry's work is considered in the light of the history which it made, I hope the future historians will not overlook the important part which I know Clara played in this work. Their marriage was one of the most successful I have known.

Unless one knew Henry as I knew him, he will not be able to evaluate fully how important it was to him and to his work that he had a wife who not only understood him but who was his willing



HENRY FORD IN DETROIT, ABOUT 1892



CHIEF ENGINEER HENRY FORD AT THE EDISON ILLUMINATING COMPANY IN 1895 WITH  
WILLIAM F. BARTELS AND GEORGE W. CATO

partner in all of his undertakings. In addition she frequently was the source for many of his inspirations. Her quiet encouragement and confidence was the thing which permitted his genius to flower. One cannot tell the true story of Henry Ford without also telling the story of Clara Bryant Ford. Being the wife of Henry Ford always entailed great responsibilities. Clara met all of them.

We are apt to remember little things and forget the bigger ones. However, I remember well the first time I saw the little car which Henry had built. It was Sunday, and he brought Clara and Edsel out to the farm to show us the horseless carriage of which we had heard so much. Of course all of us had seen it in various stages of its construction in the shop back of their Bagley Avenue home, but this was the first time any of us had seen it in operation. It was a nice spring day, but the deep spring ruts in the road had not yet been filled. Henry has said it was about the time the bobolinks came to Dearborn. He said this was always on the second of April. I cannot say as to this, but I am sure that the bobolinks were singing cheerfully for Henry that day, for here was a dream realized; here was proof that he knew how to build a carriage which would move on the roads without horses.

My first sight of the little car was as it came west along what is now Ford Road. The wheels on one side were deep in the rut made by the farm wagons while the wheels on the other side were high in the center of the road. Henry had built the car in such a way that the distance between the wheels was less than that of the wagons and carriages, thus it was driven in this way on a road which had ruts. Clara and Edsel were with him, and all of them were sitting on the slanted seat. I remember that Edsel was a very small boy in dresses at this time and that he was held tightly by his mother on her lap. The days when he was to come to the farm riding in the small side seat which his father fixed for him were several years later than this first trip.

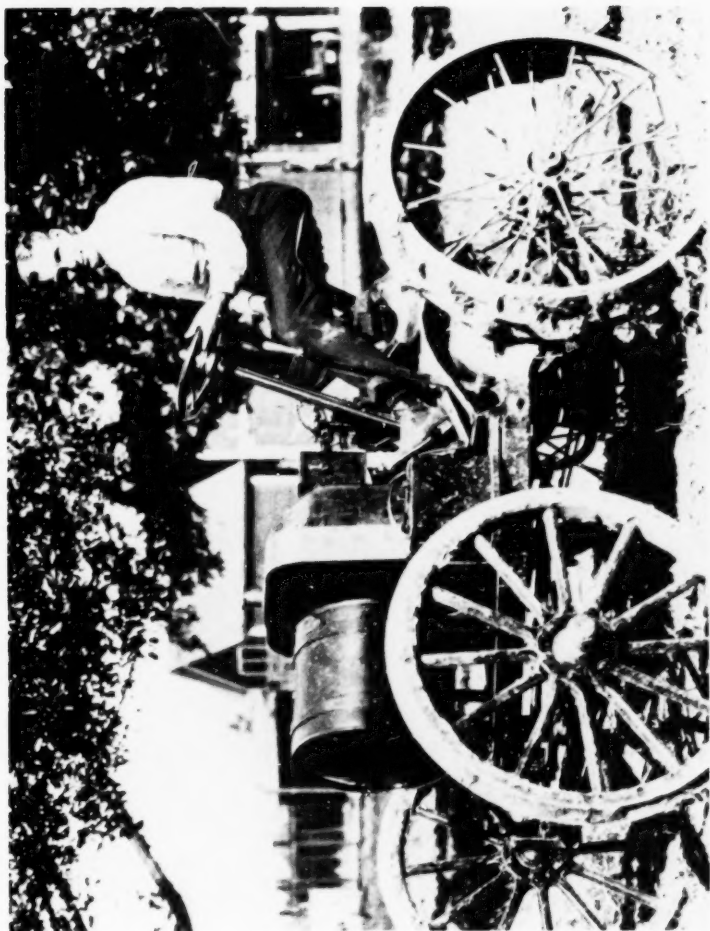
At vivid as these details are to me now, I cannot be sure of the year in which this first trip was made. Henry and Clara had moved to their Bagley Avenue home the December after Edsel was born. This was in 1893. I do not recall that Henry had done very much work on the little car at this time except to plan for it. It seems to me now that his work on the car at Bagley Avenue took a little over a year.

He made or remade nearly everything which went into its construction. As I now recall this first trip, I am sure that Edsel was a little over a year old when the first trip was made. For all of these reasons I feel sure that the first trip to the farm occurred in the spring of 1895.

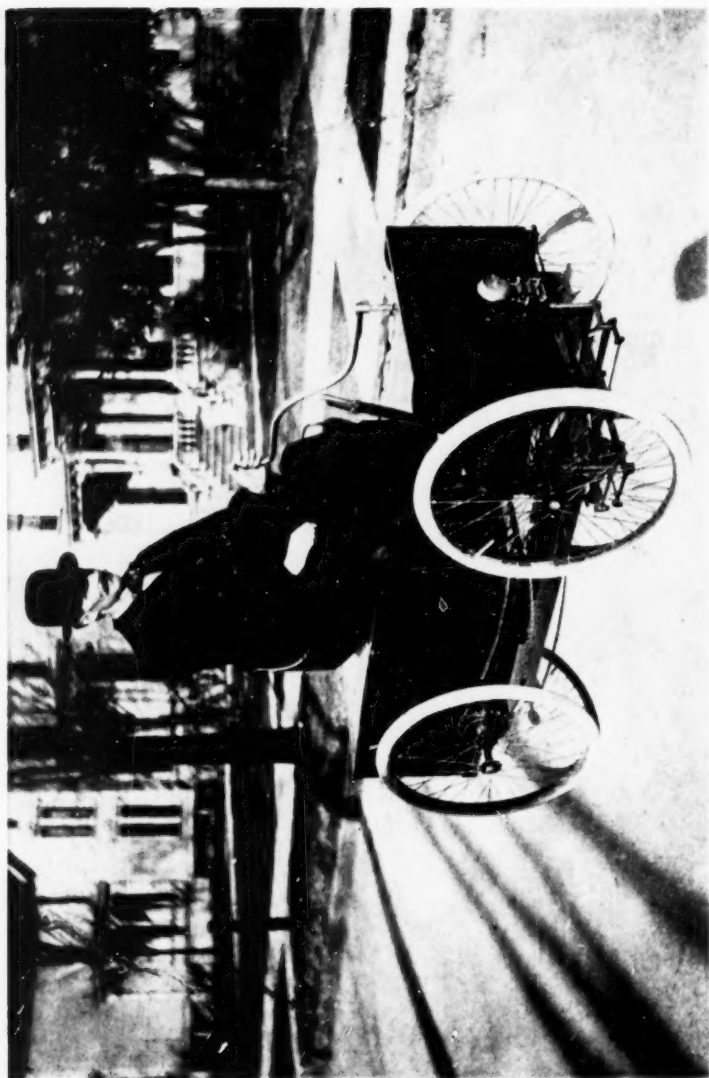
Henry and Clara were proud of their little horseless carriage that day. Henry took all of us for rides during the day, and I well remember the peculiar sensation of what seemed to be a great speed and the sense of bewilderment I felt when I first rode in this carriage which moved without a horse. Henry particularly enjoyed explaining the mechanical details to his younger brothers, and I am sure that he enjoyed scaring the life out of his sisters. After I had ridden in the car, I wondered more than ever at the cool confidence and nerve which Clara had displayed in trusting herself and Edsel to Henry's little car for that first ride into the country.

It was characteristic of Father that he would not ride in the car on this first day. He was as interested as all of us in the fact that here was the horseless carriage about which we had been hearing. He looked it all over and listened with interest to Henry's explanation of it, but he refused to ride in it. At that time I think all of us shared Father's feeling that here was but another interesting toy which Henry had built. I know we all wondered about its practical significance. After all, we had some fine horses of which all of us were very proud. Father may have resented a bit the success of Henry's machine, which now proved that Henry had been right in telling us that horses were not necessary to pull a carriage on the road. The first little car, while it ran, seemed to be a pitifully small thing indeed. We wondered how it could have caused Henry to leave his good farm and financial security just to be able to build this thing. Father was a conservative farmer of those times. He saw no reason why he should risk his life at that time for a brief thrill from being propelled over the road in a carriage without horses. He liked his horses and was proud of them. They did a better job at that time than did Henry's little car.

Despite his refusal to ride in the car on that first Sunday, Father was very proud of Henry's achievement. He talked about it to us at home and he told his neighbors about it. I am sure there was in this first car a certain element of disappointment for Father, as he always believed that Henry had "the makings of a good farmer." I am sure



HENRY FORD AND HIS FIRST TRACTOR—ABOUT 1905



HENRY FORD IN THE FIRST FORD CAR 1896

he realized, perhaps more than the rest of us, that now Henry, having proven that he could build a horseless carriage, would not be satisfied to return to the farm and the life of a good farmer. For Father there was no higher compliment than to be able to say that a man was a good farmer. This meant he was a solid citizen and a man of sound integrity. It meant he had security and a good reputation. Here was his eldest son, with all the makings of a good farmer, spending his time on machines which, I am sure Father realized, would be apt to take the place of the horse on the farm. It was to be expected that it would take Father a little time to accept the idea. On later trips of Henry's to the farm Father rode in the car, but not on that first one. Henry understood the unspoken reasons for Father's refusal and neither then nor later seemed to give it much thought. He knew Father and he knew his reaction to this proof that the horseless carriage was here as a reality. Henry knew that with time and with his explanations Father would consent to taking a ride, and he did.

I do not recall that Henry was concerned with any prophetic vision about his little car at that time. It was just an interesting experiment in mechanics. Any machine fascinated him and his own little car the most of all. It was not until several years later that we heard of his plans to get into the manufacturing of such machines. By that time he had built several of the cars and he and Clara had taken rides on West Grand Boulevard and out Woodward Avenue. They had driven the cars out to the farms to visit her folks as well as to visit with us. The idea of going into the business of making these cars for others was something which came later.

On that first Sunday it was all good fun. We all agreed that the little car was better than bicycling and some of us thought it was more fun than a ride in a horse-drawn carriage, but it was, of course, far less dependable. Henry called his machine a quadricycle.

The great "proving grounds" of the automobile were to come much later. For Henry, his first proving grounds were the country roads which led back home. He knew these roads well. He knew their terrible condition during the greater part of the year and he knew that if his little car would navigate these roads, he had built a successful machine.

I have no doubt but that these early drives also interested him since they gave him a chance to study the reactions to this machine of his

lifelong friends in the Scotch Settlement. These were the people he had known all his life and these were people whose opinions he respected then and later. He was prepared to startle them with his machine and I am sure that this gave him considerable satisfaction, for he was always a great tease, but behind it all there was the more serious aspect of building a machine that would go. He had proved to himself, to his family, to his friends, and to his neighbors that all his efforts and hard work had not been in vain. He was good natured about the jokes and sometimes not too encouraging comments. He enjoyed telling us of the consternation with which some of his lifelong friends had viewed his machine. I know many of them wondered "why William Ford ever let his son give up farming." Others, I am sure, could not understand why anyone would be "crazy enough" to give up a good farm for the life in the city as a mechanic "tinkering with those infernal machines." All of these reactions interested Henry and I am sure were an important part of his study of this machine. He realized early that building such a machine was only a small part of the horseless carriage problem. He knew he could not succeed in getting rid of the horse on the farm until he could prove to the farmers that his machine was dependable and could do the work of the horse. What better proving grounds for this could he find than with his old friends in the Scotch Settlement?

The first little car came to the farm many times. Usually Henry, Clara, and Edsel were alone. Sometimes Jim Bishop rode along on his bicycle. I am certain that Charles Brady King never came to our home and I am equally certain he never talked to Father about Henry or the car. I do not believe the story which has been told of a visit of Henry and Mr. King to the homestead and of their talks with Father. Neither my brother William nor myself can remember any such incident. We are both sure that if any such incident had occurred, Father would have talked about it at home. Clara, also, did not recall any such visit. She was sure Henry would have discussed any such event with her and he did not. She remembered that Father, while admittedly not enthusiastic about the little car, was very proud of Henry and of his work as a mechanic. When the story first appeared in connection with the Golden Jubilee celebration of the automobile, Clara recalled that she and Henry discussed the story and that Henry, at that time, told her the story simply was not true.

Some will think that the truth or falsity of such a story will matter but little. Perhaps they are right, except that such a story gives credence to the rumor of trouble between Henry and his Father. The truth is, as I have stated before, that there never were any serious misunderstandings between Henry and Father. They disagreed about some things, but still there was a real understanding between them that cannot be fully explained. Each had a profound respect for the opinions, abilities, and achievements of the other person. I believe that seldom have two men of such different abilities understood each other as well as did Henry and Father.

The story has been told about the trouble which Henry had in being permitted to drive his first cars on the streets of Detroit and how he secured permission to do so from Mayor William C. Maybury. What has not been generally known is that Mayor Maybury was a close personal friend of Father's and had been a guest in our home on the farm on many occasions. The Maybury family were neighbors of the Thomas Smith family on Trumbull Avenue who were relatives of our grandmother, Thomasine Smith Ford. As a young man Father visited the Smith family and became well acquainted with their neighbors, the Maybury family, and especially with William, who was later to become mayor of Detroit.

William C. Maybury, no doubt, had watched with interest the various "inventions" of Henry's. Later when Henry was working on the first car, Mr. Maybury was a frequent visitor at 58 Bagley Avenue, and one of the many persons interested to see Henry's horseless carriage run on the streets of Detroit.

When Henry drove his little car about Detroit, the horses encountering this strange contraption became frightened. The drivers protested to the police that something be done about prohibiting the horseless carriage from using the main streets of the city. Woodward Avenue and West Grand Boulevard were *paved* and they were the streets on which Henry could best try out his car. These were also the streets used by folk out riding in their carriages of a summer evening. As Henry worked at the Edison Illuminating Company during the day, evenings were the time he had to work on the little car and test it out by giving it its road test. Sometimes Henry used it when going on an errand during working hours.

When Mr. Maybury became mayor of Detroit, Henry obtained from him a permit to drive his car on the streets of Detroit.

A few years later when the Detroit Automobile Company was being organized, it was Mayor Maybury and other prominent Detroiters who were interested in organizing and financing the new company. Therefore, I do not think Henry had too difficult a time obtaining his permission from Mayor Maybury to use the streets of Detroit as a testing grounds for his first car.

After the first little car had proved his theories, Henry turned his attention to the development and building of the other early cars, some of which he raced to new world speed records. With these successful achievements behind him, the various manufacturing companies were organized and he became a part of the American story. I do not propose to go into these phases of Henry's career. They have been explored fully and have been the subject of much writing, most of which is quite accurate. Looking back on these matters, it is hard to realize the changes which have occurred in a lifetime. It all has happened so fast that we are left rather bewildered.

Fame did not change Henry's relations with his family. His personal tastes, his likes, and his dislikes did not change. His intimate friends were still the people he had known most of his life. He thoroughly enjoyed the friendship and confidence of the children in the schools which he and Clara established at Greenfield Village; Sudbury, Massachusetts; and at Richmond Hill, Georgia. He was at home amid the surroundings of Greenfield Village, which were so reminiscent of his youth.

He enjoyed the hours spent in restoring our old home and in stealing a few hours to be spent there enjoying the peace and quiet he had known as a boy at home. Fame could not steal these moments from him. These moments were too few in his later years, but to one privileged to share some of them with him, I know that they were a continuing source of comfort and relaxation for the man whose fate it was to shoulder such staggering responsibilities. It was here in the quiet of our old home, in the peaceful retreats which he created at his own home, in Greenfield Village, at Wayside Inn, and at Richmond Hill that he found peace and the time to plan and dream of the things which he wished to do.

Early American dancing was one of the pleasures of his later life, as indeed it had been when he was a young man. The thousands of people who today are enjoying these dances remember that he and Clara did much to save and popularize these old wholesome dances. Henry wanted to preserve these dances for the generations which were to follow. He wanted them to share his fun. One who saw Henry and Clara at their dancing lessons and at their dancing parties knew that this was no pose of one acting a part. Here was a mature man, famous the world over for his achievements, an intimate of the world's great men, taking beginner's instructions in some simple folk dance which he wished to learn. Here was a man who enjoyed the thrills of the old dances while he swung the partner who had shared with him over fifty years of a happily married life. His guest list at these parties included his old friends of Dearborn, the friends of his youth, the parents of the children at the Greenfield Village schools, and the craftsmen from the Village shops. To these people he was just "Mister" Ford, not the world famous Henry Ford.

It is a source of wonder to me that Henry was able to accomplish so much and to play such a large part in changing the world in which we live and yet that he remained throughout his entire life the same playful tease he had been as a boy. He was, despite the recent writings of those who did not know him personally, warm hearted, sentimental, and generous. There are many people living in the areas where he was active who will vouch for the fact that when life seemed darkest for them and when their burdens seemed too much to bear, he was the then unknown benefactor who provided them with a job, or a home, or the best of hospital and medical care if necessary to set them on their feet so that they might again stand alone as self-reliant citizens capable of making their own way in a trying world.

This was the type of charity he practiced; it was the type of good neighborliness we had learned as children in the Scotch Settlement.

A crippled child, even though a perfect stranger, always interested Henry. Seeing such a child on the street, he frequently would give orders to one of his men to locate the child's home and provide the necessary medical treatments to repair the crippled body. Those of his personal staff can tell many stories of this spontaneous outpouring of his generous spirit.

Education, when it meant learning by doing, was his constant dream. Hé and Clara made this possible for many young people in the schools which they established. If Henry had wished a memorial, I am sure that he created it for himself in these schools and in the ideals which they implanted in the minds of the boys and girls who attended them and with whom he was on such friendly terms.

The Edison Institute and Museum which he established have brought pleasure to countless people from all walks of life and from all parts of the world. Pleasure, however, was not his sole purpose in establishing the Museum. Here he wished to show the third dimension of history. He wanted to help all people to understand the past that they might better appreciate the present. He wanted them to have the tools and implements of the earlier days that they might continually improve upon them. He wanted to give concrete form and expression to his lifelong appreciation for the spirit of Thomas A. Edison and the encouragement which Mr. Edison had given to him at a crucial time of decision.

I shall never forget the pleasure and satisfaction with which Henry planned the celebration for the Golden Jubilee of the electric light. I saw him then as a man living to see the fulfillment of a cherished dream, as a man paying a sincere tribute to an old friend. Here was a dreamer who planned each detail, even to having real New Jersey mud shipped in to surround the Menlo Park buildings, to be sure that his dream would be realized, not by depending on others, but by himself. Yet this was but an episode. He continued for nearly twenty years more to dream and plan and build until death was to still his spirit.

I have not attempted to be wholly impartial in my appraisal of my brother. I was very fond of him and admired him greatly. To me his life is a constant proof that there is validity in the American dream and in the ideals which have made our American way of life. My brother lived and died as a country boy whose native abilities carried him to such heights of fame that his name is known throughout the world. He believed sincerely in those ideals which made America great. He dared to live by and for those ideals. He gave freely of himself and his fortune that those ideals might be demonstrated as a way of life in a hostile world.

The Peace Ship subjected him to ridicule and public abuse by those who lacked his optimism. Its failure to bring the peace he wished was to him but another lesson learned by doing. Through the two world wars which followed, he helped to arm America that her ideals might prevail, that the spirit of democracy might triumph in a cynical world.

Had Henry lived and died a successful Wayne County farmer I am convinced that he still would have held to those ideals we learned so well in our Scotch Settlement homes and schools. That he was able to do so as a famous world character remains for me one of his outstanding achievements.

I shall always be very proud of my brother. Proud, not for *what* he achieved, but for *how* he lived and *how* he achieved his ends. Proud, also, because he pointed the way for so much good to be done in the future.

I appreciate the privilege of closing these reminiscences with the poem which Edgar A. Guest wrote on the occasion of Henry's seventy-fifth birthday celebration at Dearborn on July 30, 1938. This poem gives words to the sentiments of those of us who knew Henry best. For me, this poem has caught the spirit of my brother Henry.

These are the thoughts which came to me  
As I heard that his years are seventy-five:  
What pride must be his who has grown to be  
The usefulest man alive!

Born with a dream and a faith in toil  
And the will to master the law of things,  
His gifts have brought to his native soil  
The envy and praises of kings.

No speech so strange and no place so far  
But he and the work of his years are known.  
His fame, like that of the northern star,  
Unrivalled, shines alone!<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>© Edgar A. Guest. Used with his permission.

## The Chippewa Sugar Camp

*Arthur T. Wilcox*

THE ACCOMPANYING PAPER REPRESENTS background material to be used in considering the development of a historical-recreational exhibit at the Dunbar Experiment Station south of Sault Ste Marie.

It seems quite certain that the Dunbar station was the location of an Indian sugar camp at a period before the development of modern spiles or permanent sugar-making facilities. The location of the sugarbush north of the sawmill is known and a few representative trees are now standing. Putnam W. Robbins, while superintendent of the station, discovered evidences of slash-tapping while cutting trees. The location is historically logical, being adjacent to a relatively heavily used travel route and close to a major population center of the Indians. It was also a reservation area after 1855.

The development of the area as a historical-recreation attraction appears to have two major possibilities. First of these is to construct a typical Indian sugar camp of the type which might be expected to have existed on the area before 1850. Such a reconstruction would be very interesting but would run into a number of practical difficulties. The construction techniques, if properly followed, necessitate a great deal of handicraft-type work and use of relatively hard-to-get bark and other materials. The result would be two or three bark covered structures having a relatively short life and requiring precise maintenance. It would be necessary to make a considerable number of wooden and birch bark utensils, also of a handicraft nature, and subject to easy breakage or theft. There would be the problem of securing a set of suitable evaporation kettles of the type used during the period being represented.

The interest value of a full-scale reconstruction would be quite substantial if accompanied with proper printed publicity and information as part of the anticipated celebration of the centennial of the opening of the Soo canal.

A rather interesting educational approach would be to demonstrate here the almost complete dependence of the Indians on native

materials for production of what was a rather important commercial product and private food material.

The second possibility, more practical but perhaps less valuable in its emotional appeal, would be to develop a scale model camp as a display item by itself. In connection with this, another model might show a modern sugar house and point out differences in production techniques. Such a set of models have value as mobile displays to be used elsewhere. In addition their use permits the inclusion of a number of low cost display techniques to better tell the story of Indian sugar-making and its relationship to the total culture.

The manufacture of maple sugar was an important occupation of the Chippewa people of northern Michigan. Indeed, the widespread use of maple sugar and the festivities connected with sugar making were so conspicuous as to call for rather detailed accounts on the part of early observers. The practice was largely restricted to peoples of the Algonquin stock who inhabited much of the normal range of the sugar maple (called *inená tíg*). Of this group the Chippewas (Ojibwas) dominated the upper lake states region. They were first recognized by the French in the early seventeenth century as the people inhabiting the upper St. Mary's River area.

Two early accounts of sugar making by the Ojibwas are to be found in the works of Alexander Henry and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. The former, writing of his experience at Sault Ste Marie in 1763 relates:

The season for making maple sugar was now at hand; and shortly after my arrival at the Sault I removed with the other inhabitants to the place at which we were to perform the manufacture.

A certain part of the maple woods having been chosen, and which was distant about three miles from the fort, a house twenty feet long and fourteen broad was begun in the morning, and before night made fit for the comfortable reception of eight persons and their baggage. It was open at the top, had a door at each end, and a fireplace in the middle running the whole length.

The next day was employed in gathering the bark of white birch trees with which to make vessels to catch the wine or sap. The trees were now cut or tapped, and spouts or ducts introduced into the wound. The bark vessels were placed under the ducts, and as they filled, the liquor was taken out in buckets and conveyed into reservoirs or vats of moose skin, each vat containing a hundred gallons. From these we supplied the boilers, of which we had twelve of from twelve to twenty gallons each,

with fires constantly under them day and night. While the women collected the sap, boiled it, and completed the sugar, the men were not less busy in cutting wood, making fires, and in hunting and fishing in part [sic] of our supply of food.

The earlier part of the spring is that best adapted to making maple sugar. The sap runs only in the day; and it will not run unless there has been a frost the night before. When in the morning there is a clear sun and the night has left ice of the thickness of a dollar the greatest quantity is produced.

On the twenty-fifth of April our labor ended, and we returned to the fort, carrying with us as we found by the scales, sixteen hundred-weight of sugar. We had besides thirty-six gallons of syrup; and during our stay in the woods we certainly consumed three hundred-weight. Though, as I have said, we hunted and fished, yet sugar was our principal food during the whole month of April. I have known Indians to live wholly upon the same and become fat.<sup>1</sup>

A few short months later Henry narrowly escaped death during the Mackinac massacre by hiding under a pile of birch bark containers used for collecting maple sap.

Schoolcraft later gives an account of sugar making at a distance about halfway between the Soo and the Dunbar station:

... it is also the general season of sugar making with the Indians.

I joined a party in visiting one of the camps. We had several carioles in company, and went down the river about eight or nine miles to Mrs. Johnston's camp. . . . We pursued the river on the ice the greater part of the way, and then proceeded inland about a mile. We found a large temporary building, surrounded with piles of ready split wood for keeping a fire under the kettles, and ox hides arranged in such a manner as to serve as vats for collecting the sap. About twenty kettles were boiling over an elongated central fire.

The whole air of the place resembled that of a manufactory. . . .

The principal amusement consisted in pulling candy, and eating the sugar in every form. Having done this, and received the hospitalities of our hostess, we tackled up our teams, and pursued our way back to the fort, having narrowly escaped breaking through the river at one or two points.<sup>2</sup>

Maple sugar and wild rice were the two most important plant foods of the Chippewas. The obtaining of both of these commodities was attended by considerable pleasure, and sugar-making (*seensibaukwut*)

<sup>1</sup>Alexander Henry, *Travels and Adventures in the Years 1760-1776*, edited by Milo M. Quaife, 69-70 (Chicago, 1921).

<sup>2</sup>Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes of the American Frontier*, 162-63 (Philadelphia, 1851).

especially took on the aspects of a spring carnival. Each family or group of families had its own sugar bush with a semipermanent storage lodge and sugar lodge.

The uses of maple sugar were many and varied to a degree calculated to astonish the modern palate. Maple sugar was more than a luxury; it was a practical necessity in everyday cooking. It was used for seasoning fruits, wild rice, and boiled vegetables, such as squash and pumpkins. It was an ingredient in the preparation of parched corn and was mixed with meats and added to boiled fish. Maple sap was saved to drink. In hot weather it was dissolved in cold water and served as a refreshing drink according to Frances Densmore.<sup>3</sup> A number of beverages made from other plants were sweetened with it, and medicines were made more palatable by its use. A remedy for stomach cramps was the root bark of paper birch and maple sugar boiled together. Individual sugar cakes were made for use as gifts.

An interesting variation in use is recorded by Huron H. Smith, who says: "Again it is allowed to become sour to make a vinegar *cirvabo* used in cookery of venison, which, when afterwards sweetened with maple sugar, corresponds to the German fashion of sweet-sour meat."<sup>4</sup> So widely was sugar consumed that G. Johann Kohl in his account of travels in the Upper Peninsula says, "the use of sugar as the universal and almost only condiment in Indian cookery is most extended" and "sugar serves them, too, instead of salt . . ."<sup>5</sup> An earlier visitor in Canada relates that:

"Maple sugar will nevertheless ever continue a favorite luxury, if not a necessity, with the Canadian peasant, who has not unaptly been considered as having for it the same sort of natural predilection that an Englishman has for his beer, a Scotchman for his scones, and a Mexican for his pulque."<sup>6</sup>

The exact method by which the Indians made maple sugar before the coming of the white man is uncertain. However the introduction of metal boiling kettles came very early to the St. Mary's River area

<sup>3</sup>Frances Densmore, *Chippewa Customs*, (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 86) (Washington, D.C., 1929).

<sup>4</sup>Huron H. Smith, "Ethnobotany of the Ojibwe Indians," in *Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Bulletin*, 4:395 (May, 1932).

<sup>5</sup>Johann G. Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami, Wanderings round Lake Superior*, 319 (London, 1860).

<sup>6</sup>Joseph G. Bouchette, *British Dominions in North America*, 372 (London, 1831).

with the arrival of the Frenchmen. The problem of metal containers seems unimportant in so far as historical reconstruction is concerned. In fact, the use of metal kettles might serve to point out the long history of European contact and would be in keeping with historical fact. It is interesting to note, however, that Dr. V. Havard is widely quoted for his explanation of pre-Columbian sugar making:

The primitive Indian method of making sugar before the introduction of metal kettles was to throw red-hot stones in vessels of bark or wood, or again, to freeze the syrup repeatedly in shallow basins and throw off the ice.<sup>7</sup>

While this method seems to provide some logical explanation, one can only wonder how sticky the hot stones became.

A typical Chippewa sugar camp was a simple affair situated strategically in a satisfactory grove of hard maples. The other native materials used in connection with shelter building and utensil construction apparently depended largely upon local availability. Some accounts describe balsam pitch as the material used for water-proofing birch bark containers; others describe a pitch secured by boiling jack pine cones. Storage vessels were sewn together with boiled basswood fiber, the core of jack pine roots, or cedar roots. Depending upon local circumstances, shelters were covered with birch, cedar, or elm bark.

The camp, occupied only during the sap-flow season, had two relatively permanent buildings; the bark lodge in which sugar was made and a smaller structure used for utensil and container storage during the off-season. Those unable to sleep in the sugar house were housed in temporary bark wigwams. Large birch bark sheets, used for both sugar house and lodge coverings, were commonly removed and used elsewhere, leaving the naked lodge frames to be used the following year.

The design of these buildings probably changed considerably through the years, but three common types are known. All three were used simultaneously, at least in recent times in response to limitations set by the availability of local materials. Early illustrations show a storage lodge only, the sap being boiled over open fires. Other

<sup>7</sup>V. Havard, "Drink Plants of the North American Indians," in the *Bulletin of Torrey Botanical Club*, 23:42-43 (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1896).

drawings and later photographs show large hip-roofed sugar houses surrounded by dome-shaped wigwams and A-shaped storage lodges.

A typical camp might be dominated by a large sugar house constructed after the manner of a modern hip-roofed garage; the pole framework covered with sheets of elm or cedar bark, with a hole in the roof to permit smoke release. Lighter birch bark was commonly substituted for the roof covering. Such a building, called an *i ckigami sige wigumig*, and visited by Densmore, was eighteen and one-half feet long, nineteen feet three inches wide and ten feet high at the eaves.<sup>8</sup> There was an entrance at each end and a platform extending the entire length of each side. These platforms were about five feet wide and twelve to eighteen inches high and were intended primarily for sleeping, although the edge served for sitting and eating and as a place for putting sugar-making utensils. A double shelf for holding small articles was fastened to the side of the framework. Placed near the door, the shelf could be easily reached.

The fire space extended the length of the lodge beneath the ridge of the roof. A large log of green wood was placed at each end. The structure for holding boiling kettles was erected above this space and consisted of four heavy corner posts six or seven feet high with crotches at the top. Between the crotches of the posts, crosswise of the lodge, were laid stout poles upon which were poles laid lengthwise. In between these and over the fire were placed the horizontal bars from which kettles were hung. Thus it was possible by moving the horizontal bars to place a kettle over any part of the fire. The largest kettles were hung in the center of the lodge, suspended by strips of green bark or chains and iron hooks. The smaller kettles were placed over the ends of the fire and may have been hung on wooden hooks made of tree limb crotches. Ironwood was a frequently used species for this purpose.

A typical storehouse used to keep utensils, bark dishes, storage containers, buckets, and wooden storage logs had a ridge pole extending between two groups of poles arranged in conical form at each end. Poles resting on the ground and against the ridge pole supported a bark covering. This in turn was held in place by other poles resting

<sup>8</sup>Frances Densmore, "Uses of Plants by the Chippewa Indians," in the U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, *Annual Report 1926-7*, 308 (Washington, D.C., 1928).

against it. A large structure of this type, but not a storage hut, is described by David I. Bushnell.<sup>9</sup> This lodge was called a *ginon dawan*. A smaller wigwam in the form of a cone covered with bark was called a *na sawaogan*. The birch bark was laid with the inner surface exposed to the outside.

A typical dome shaped wigwam, *waginogan*, is described by Bushnell as being roughly rectangular, fourteen feet square and six feet high. The frame was of saplings less than two inches thick set firmly in the ground and bent over to attach to similar pieces on the opposite side. Other small branches, spaced about two feet apart, were attached horizontally around this framework. A covering of rush mats or bark of cedar, elm or birch was then put in place and held down by cords passing over the top and tied to poles hung horizontally near the ground.

The capacity or size of a sugar bush apparently varied considerably and was gauged by the number of taps, which might number several to each tree. Nine hundred taps were about average and large camps might have as many as two thousand.

The procedure for moving into the sugar camp depended somewhat upon the condition of the lodge and also, apparently, upon the social influence of the white man and the commercial value of the sugar. Some writers maintain that the work of establishing camp was entirely that of women and children, the men devoting themselves to hunting and fishing. Others describe the work of men in cutting fuel wood and aiding in repairs where relatively heavy lodge construction was necessary. In any case the lodge was put into working condition, the platforms spread with cedar or balsam boughs or rush mats, the store-house opened, the utensils repaired and made ready and new ones constructed. In addition to birch bark containers for gathering and carrying sap and storing sugar, troughs cut from basswood logs were commonly used for sap storage as it was brought from the trees. Such troughs were also used in the process of granulating the sugar. Other utensils were wood spoons for dipping sap, paddles for stirring, and granulating ladles for working the material into sugar. The more valuable metal kettles were, of course, not left in the storage huts during the off season.

<sup>9</sup>David I. Bushnell, "Ojibway Habitations and Other Structures," in the Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report 1917*, 613 (Washington, D.C., 1919).

When preliminary arrangements were complete, the entire group set up camp and the trees were tapped. Apparently this was done by those who were recognized as experts. Tapping consisted of making a diagonal cut about three and one-half inches long about three feet above the ground. Below the lower end of this cut the bark was removed in a perpendicular line for a distance of about four inches. A wooden spile was inserted below this point. These spiles were commonly made of slippery elm, although arborvitae is also noted as a spile material. They were about six inches long by two inches wide and curved on the under surface. The cut in which the spile was inserted could be made with an axe or with a tool resembling a curved chisel which was pounded into the tree and removed for the insertion of the spile. A good worker could tap about three hundred locations in a day.

Sap dishes were distributed in the early morning and placed on the ground beneath the taps. Apparently there were many superstitions and considerable technical knowledge connected with the sugaring as with other food gathering activities. It was believed that the best sugar was made when the early part of the winter had been open, allowing the ground to freeze deeper than usual. The first sap was considered superior to any other. Huron H. Smith notes that the Ojibway would not use the night flow of the sap which they said was bitter and thus they ceased collecting after dark.<sup>10</sup> He further indicates that to waste or spill sap was considered an affront to certain deities who punished such acts by causing the sugar to shrink after it was made. There was also apparently some significance to the use of a spruce branch for stirring the sap in the kettles to keep it from boiling over.

The sap-collecting dishes were simple birch bark containers about twelve inches long, of single sheets folded and held in shape by boiled basswood fibers. The sap was gathered from these dishes in bark pails or buckets and stored until ready for boiling. The storage vats were of large moose hides or basswood logs hollowed out to form large containers. Whether the hide vats were used to line a depression in the ground or were otherwise supported is not explained. Illustrations of log vats show a V cut at one end and a point at the other.

<sup>10</sup>Smith, "Ethnobotany of the Ojibwe Indians," in Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, *Bulletin* 4:395.

This may be due to the manner of chopping logs to proper length.

The sap was first put into kettles near the ends of the fire and preheated before being put into kettles near the center. The thickening syrup was variously strained through a mat woven of narrow strips of basswood bark or through burlap or old blankets.

Sugaring-off in some cases called for the addition of small pieces of deer tallow which was said to make the sugar soft rather than brittle. When thickened the sugar was transferred to a hollowed basswood granulating trough where it was stirred with a paddle and at the proper time rubbed or worked with the back of the granulating ladle and with the hands. From the granulating trough the warm sugar was poured into birch-bark containers called *mokuks*.<sup>11</sup>

Granulated or grain sugar, however, was not the only form of sugar. Cake sugar made from syrup boiled almost to crystallization and then poured into moulds was common. Kohl described the products of these wooden moulds as follows: "They make it into all sorts of shapes, bear's paws, flowers, stars, small animals, and other figures . . ."<sup>12</sup> Little cones were made of birch bark and fastened together with strips of basswood bark so that the group resembled a cluster of berries. These cones, filled with sugar, were a favorite delicacy. Little *mokuks*, ornamented with quill designs, were also filled with sugar as were the upper mandibles of the duck bill; several of these being fastened together in a row on a stick.

A third product, called gum or wax sugar, was produced by pouring thick syrup on snow and allowing it to cool. It was then eaten immediately with keen delight or kept in packets of birch bark.

The last run of sap which was of inferior quality was sometimes boiled as thickly as possible and placed in *mokuks*. These might then be buried in the ground and covered with bark and boughs to keep the contents cool during the summer.

The storage boxes or *mokuks* of bark, attractive containers in the shape of the lower section of a quadrangular pyramid, were made in all sizes. Those for sale weighed from twenty to seventy-five pounds when filled. One family could make thirty to forty boxes a season plus its own consumption. An average might be twenty-five boxes, which would bring about \$150 in trade. Alexander Henry

<sup>11</sup>Also spelled *mocock*, *mokok*, and *makuk*.

<sup>12</sup>Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami*, 324.

reported a sugarbush which produced sixteen hundred pounds for sale, about three hundred pounds for consumption at camp, and thirty-six gallons of syrup.<sup>13</sup>

The Chippewa sugar camp in reconstruction presents a fascinating picture of primitive man as manufacturer, craftsman, naturalist and human being. Skillful use of natural materials is evident in every part of the manufacturing process. The artist reveals himself in figured moulds and decorated baskets. The social instinct shines forth in gift packets, strings of birch bark cones, and the festival spirit. Finally the native woodsman flavors his meals with seeming discrimination and enjoys sugared beverages in the most modern manner. Few scenes of primitive life could be more appealing.

<sup>13</sup>Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, 70.

## Lewis Cass and the American Indian

*Elizabeth Gaspar Brown*

At the end of the American Revolution, the land-hungry residents of the eastern seaboard saw opened to them for settlement immense territories lying west of the Allegheny Mountains. The only effective barriers to immediate immigration were the wandering Indian tribes who claimed and inhabited the area.

The inevitable clash between the two races arose primarily over their divergent attitudes toward the land. The Indians regarded the streams, the forests, and the open spaces as theirs by virtue of generations of use. The whites saw them as means of transportation or as potential farms lying fallow and unproductive while claimed by feckless and improvident nomads.

Although the federal authorities in Washington may have been sincere in their protestations of the need for just and honorable treatment of the Indian tribes and for respect of their rights in the land, the physical problems of transportation and communication between the settled East and the pioneer settlements of the West made enforcement of locally unpopular laws and treaties difficult. Moreover, Easterners were not exposed to the temptations of the frontier where desire for land or quick profits to be achieved in the fur trade had uncommon facility in shattering ideals or inculcating the comforting thought that a double standard of morality was perfectly proper.

Some of the callous disregard for the rights of the Indians came from the brutality of the white settlers, and some from the ruthless exploitation of the land and its resources; but the greatest single factor may well have been the prevailing and almost total disinterest in the Indians' institutions and modes of thought. At the very period when priceless information could have been gathered concerning the aborigine, his laws and his customs, the settlers and administrative officials apparently failed to show the slightest interest or incentive to proceed along these lines of inquiry. At best the Indian was considered as a nuisance to be removed from the settled area as rapidly and painlessly as possible. There is almost no indication of any

interest having been shown in his institutions or his patterns of behavior other than the investigations carried on by Lewis Cass.

It is only recently that the full scope of Cass' work of inquiry into the development of the Indian culture has been recognized, although it has been long known that as territorial governor of Michigan he was concerned with the problems of the Indians. His letters, especially those to his subordinates, his speeches, and his publications give clear evidence of such concern. That it was ever more than the interest of an amateur historian or the search for information expected of any reliable government executive was unsuspected until a few years ago when a remarkable pamphlet was discovered. Although less than half a dozen copies are known to exist, it was obviously designed for wide circulation, and as stated in the foreword was a combination of two earlier pamphlets.

The pamphlet itself, entitled *Inquiries, Respecting the History, Traditions, Languages, Manners, Customs, Religion, &c. of the Indians Living within the United States*, bore this foreword:

The time for collecting materials to illustrate the past and present condition of the Indians is rapidly passing away. The inquiries, which have heretofore been directed to this subject, have produced much authentic information; but it relates rather to the more prominent traits of Indian character, than to the constitution of their minds, or their moral habits.<sup>1</sup>

However unsystematic the pamphlet and its "inquiries" may seem to the well-trained historical scholar of today, the pertinency and breadth of the questions posed show the innate wisdom and skill with which Cass approached his subject. Here was a man, given the legal training of the early nineteenth century, burdened with the problems of civil administration of an area comprising more than the present states of Michigan and Wisconsin, charged with the responsibility of acting as *ex officio* superintendent of Indian affairs in which capacity his jurisdiction extended over the subagencies of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, who in spite of all the pressure and responsibility was able to devise a set of queries which touch on every significant aspect of the Indian mind, the moral habits of the tribes, their institutions and laws,

<sup>1</sup>Lewis Cass, *Inquiries, Respecting the History, Traditions, Languages, Manners, Customs, Religion, &c of the Indians, Living within the United States* (Detroit, 1823).

and their customs and traditions. The *Inquiries* are a superb outline for scholarly investigation.

The text of the pamphlet itself shows clear evidence that Cass had considered the subject with great care before formulating the actual questions. It is also apparent that he placed great hopes that the wide distribution which he obviously contemplated would bring to him substantial amounts of hitherto unrecorded information. He, knowing the lack of training and probable absence of particular interest on the part of those receiving the pamphlet, even included suggestions for the manner of acquiring, organizing, and presenting any information acquired. Unfortunately, among the papers of Lewis Cass presently available for examination, there is no indication that he received any direct answers to these carefully prepared *Inquiries*, although it is quite possible that he did so and that they have not yet been identified in relation to these specific questions.

There is a letter from John C. Calhoun, then secretary of war, addressed to Cass, which undoubtedly pertains to one of the two earlier pamphlets which were combined to form the *Inquiries*. Calhoun wrote:

I have examined the little pamphlet which you submitted to me, and think the questions it contains, if properly answered, well calculated to obtain more particular and ample information in relation to this interesting and unfortunate class of our population than we have hitherto possessed. They are fast receding and disappearing before us, and will in a few years become extinct, unless proper measures are devised & adopted by the government to arrest their fate. To do this with any prospect of success, it is necessary that the government should have the most satisfactory information respecting the Indians that can be obtained. In the prosecution of the inquiry for this purpose, which the pamphlet contemplates your inclination and capacity both, fit you to be engaged, and the most favorable result may be anticipated.<sup>2</sup>

It is to Calhoun's credit that he was able to appreciate the inherent value of Cass' efforts. It is unfortunate that there were no others who shared his reaction.

However there is one definite and clearly discernible by-product of the work that went into the preparation of the *Inquiries*. An examination of some of the published speeches and articles of Lewis Cass

<sup>2</sup>The Secretary of War to Governor Cass, Department of War, February 11, 1822, in *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, edited by Clarence E. Carter, 11:225 (Washington, D. C., 1943).

shows that at the very least the scheme or organization of the little pamphlet contributed to his presentation of information.

Cass was not concerned primarily with "the external habits of the Indian." As he wrote in 1826, there were ample details concerning these characteristics.

But of the moral character and feelings of the Indians, of their mental discipline, of their peculiar opinion, mythologies and religions, and of all that is most valuable to man, in the history of man, we are about as ignorant, as when Jacques Cartier first ascended the St. Lawrence. The constitution of their society, and the ties by which they are kept together, furnish a paradox, which has never received the explanation it requires. We say they have no Government. And they have none whose operation is felt either in rewards or punishments. And yet their lives and property are protected, and their political relations among themselves and with other tribes are duly preserved.<sup>3</sup>

What was the answer? The lawyer and civil administrator was trying to find it and to discover the legal basis on which depended the culture of the Indians.

According to the plan of the *Inquiries*, investigation was to be made into the aspects of Indian culture included under the following headings: "Traditions," "Government," "War," "Peace," "Birth," "Family Government, Social Relations, &c," "Medicine," "Astronomy, Mathematics, &c," "Music and Poetry," "Religion," "General Manners and Customs," "Food, Cooking, Meals, &c," "Games, Dances, and Amusements," "Peculiar Societies," "International Law and Relations," "Hunting," "Feasts and Fasts," "Constitution, Personal Appearance, Dress, &c," "Belts, Strings of Wampum, Hieroglyphics, Representations, &c," "Language," "Numbers, and Other Statistical Information," "Additional Inquiries respecting the Indian Languages," "Uniform Orthography," and "Alphabet." Certainly this was an inclusive list of subjects, showing the wide range of Cass' interest. To judge from his published writings, however, either he personally had more curiosity about their political and legal customs and the languages of the several tribes, or else he was able to acquire more satisfactory and reliable information on these points.

There seems to have been no illusions in Cass' mind that his self-appointed task in seeking to understand the "constitution" of the

<sup>3</sup>Lewis Cass, "Indians of North America," in the *North American Review*, 22:53 (January, 1826).

Indians' minds would be an easy one. In his first major discussion of the problem, he remarked that almost no progress had been made in two hundred years. Although the French missionaries had had unrivalled opportunities for studying the Indian character, their attention had been devoted almost exclusively to religious matters. The English were either not interested or wrote on the basis of pre-conceived opinions. Indian legends, however intriguing, offered no insight into their past history or the origins of their customs. Even the honest seeker after information found himself blocked by an almost total absence of communication facilities. Interpreters were inadequate and usually as confused by abstract questions as were the Indians themselves. Something could be learned by a careful cross-questioning of the chiefs and subsequent analysis of the statements they made, and however slow this process, it was the most satisfactory method known.<sup>4</sup> It does not seem unreasonable to advance the suggestion that Cass had attempted to answer his own questions and had hit on this process as the best one available to him. Used by a man with Cass' training and experience, it was undoubtedly productive. It was probably less so when employed by others with less analytical minds or with less familiarity with the subject under investigation.

It must be remembered that during this entire period Cass was carrying a heavy burden of administrative duties, coupled with the continuing problems raised by the Indian tribes for which he was generally responsible. It is not surprising that he tended at a given time to confine his writings to a particular aspect of the whole complex subject. Thus in 1830 he wrote,

It is not our intention to undertake a delineation of the Indian character. We shall content ourselves with sketching such features as may serve to explain the difficulty which has been experienced in extending to them the benefit of our institutions, and in teaching them to appreciate their value.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup>Cass, "Indians of North America," in the *North American Review*, 22:53.

<sup>5</sup>Lewis Cass, "Documents and Proceedings relating to the Formation . . . of a Board . . . for the . . . Improvement of the Aborigines of America," in the *North American Review*, 30:62 (January, 1830). The title of this article is misleading. The name of a pamphlet was placed at the head of a lengthy discussion of the rights and duties of civilized states toward barbaric tribes residing within their borders.

One of the points about which Cass was particularly curious was the general nature of the government of the Indians. He had remarked on the high degree of similarity seen in observing the different tribes. Apparently, he was also interested in comprehending the basic reasons why Indian governmental and social customs remained impervious to the habits and examples of the white men; sensing, if not clarified into definite statements, that in this adherence to time-hallowed habits, lay a clue to the Indians' patterns of behavior which were so baffling to the white settlers. In the *Inquiries* a series of questions under the heading "Government" involved the exact status of the chiefs, their authority, and the manner by which they acquired their positions. At a later date, he was able to distinguish between the village chiefs and the war chiefs, both in terms of power and in method of selection. In the choice of the former, the totem or tribal badge had to be taken into consideration, but although the prestige of the village chiefs was substantial the actual ruling power of a tribe was possessed by the young men who tended to advocate a constant policy of war and violence.<sup>6</sup>

Cass persistently tried to discover if the Indians possessed any rudimentary form of governmental organization or elementary concept of reciprocal rights and duties comparable to the institutions with which he was familiar. He queried concerning the existence of deliberative councils or counsellors and the exact function of the tribe, whether there was any redress of civil injuries or any method to compel the payment of a debt, or whether any acts were "considered as offenses against the body of the nation."<sup>7</sup> Although the following statements are not supported by documented evidence, it seems reasonable to assume that Cass had carefully weighed all available data when in 1826 he wrote that the Indians "have but little property, less law, and no public offences."<sup>8</sup> In essence he reiterated the same

<sup>6</sup>Cass, "Indians of North America," in the *North American Review*, 22:53. Also see Lewis Cass, "Speech to the Senate on the Army Appropriation Bill," *Congressional Globe* 36:513 (33 Congress, 2 session) (Washington, D. C., 1855), where he states that "Indian chiefs have merely a persuasive power, and the tribes are actually ruled by the young men who . . . too often drive their people to those deeds of blood and revenge."

<sup>7</sup>Cass, *Inquiries*, 4.

<sup>8</sup>Cass, "Indians of North America," in the *North American Review*, 22:53.

allegation in 1830, although in more detail when he characterized them as

A people whose only business was war and hunting. . . . Who could not feel the obligation of general principles, nor engage in their discussion. Who had no governments to guide or control them, no laws to restrain them, no officer to punish them. Who had no permanent settled residence, where they could be found, nor any property to defend. . . .<sup>9</sup>

And again when he stated that

Government is unknown among them; certainly that government, which prescribes general rules and enforces or vindicates them. The utter nakedness of their society, can be known only by personal observation. The tribes seem to be held together by a kind of family ligament. . . . They have no criminal code, no courts, no officers, no punishments. They have no relative duties to enforce, no debts to collect, no property to restore. They are in a state of nature, as much as it is possible for any people to be. Insecurity for right.<sup>10</sup>

Assuming that the statements of Lewis Cass can be depended upon (and there is every indication that he attempted to make them absolutely trustworthy), he appears to have disposed of any hope of tracing a parallel development of legal and political institutions between the Indian of North America and the precursors of the common law. It undoubtedly was a disappointment to him to be compelled to make these statements, for every indication of the character of the Indian mind made it less likely that the hope he had so often expressed, that the two nations could occupy in peace adjacent farms with eventual amalgamation of the Indian into the body politic, could be realized. Increasingly the limited areas of human activity over which the two civilizations could find a common expression of ideas became apparent. Cass was keenly aware of the dubious ability of the aborigines to deal with any abstractions,<sup>11</sup> even those involving emotional characteristics. If concepts such as these were beyond their capacities, their inability to grasp the intricacies of the white man's legal and political institutions could not be a subject for wonder.

This same lack of comprehension of intangibles was apparent in their treatment of criminal acts. The concept of intent as an element

<sup>9</sup>Cass, "Documents and Proceedings," in the *North American Review*, 30:62.

<sup>10</sup>Cass, "Documents and Proceedings," in the *North American Review*, 30:74.

<sup>11</sup>Cass, *Inquiries*, 25.

in a crime seems to have been completely unknown. No criminal code or similar development was apparent among the Indians, although Cass did discover well-defined practices concerning murder and the responsibility for it. On the whole, Cass held the opinion that the Indians had managed to provide effective protection "for their lives and property."<sup>12</sup> There is supporting evidence from other sources that thievery among the Indians was almost unknown in their aboriginal state and that on initial contact with the white men they had shown great honor and responsibility in the repayment of debts contracted.<sup>13</sup> The question could be raised if this scrupulousness was a reflection of their disinterest in acquiring property, rather than in an inherent honesty, or whether it was an acknowledged custom evolving from necessity and sparsity of possessions. It may be recalled that many aboriginal tribes look with admiration on the distributor rather than on the acquirer of property.

Existence of the *lex talionis* is fairly prevalent among primitive civilizations. At a somewhat more advanced level of development, the concept of the *wer gild* or blood money may appear. Both these customs were observed by Cass to exist among the tribes. But he was perplexed and baffled by the acquiescence of the Indian murderer in the inescapability of his ultimate punishment.

Why does an Indian who has been guilty of murder tranquilly fold his blanket about his head, and seating himself upon the ground, await the retributive stroke from the relation of the deceased? . . . Those Indians who have murdered any of our Citizens have generally surrendered themselves for trial . . . as necessary offerings for their own guilt, and to exonerate their tribes from suspicion or injury.<sup>14</sup>

It was less bewildering to observe that a murder could be satisfied with a present rather than with the life of the offender. The option, however, rested with the victim's tribe or his immediate family and if the proffered gift should be refused, the offender died without further recourse. Should an intertribal murder be committed, the price of the victim might be the subject of considerable negotiation and come to a substantial sum, as in the instance in 1824 where the Miami paid \$5,000 to the Ottawa in satisfaction for a single offense.

<sup>12</sup>Cass, "Indians of North America," in the *North American Review*, 22:53.

<sup>13</sup>Wisconsin Historical Collections, 5:154-55 (Madison, 1868); 8:317 (Madison, 1879); 12:411-12 (Madison, 1892).

<sup>14</sup>Cass, "Indians of North America," in the *North American Review*, 22:53.

A clear distinction was maintained between an intertribal murder and one committed within the tribe. Where another tribe was concerned, an attempt had to be made to reach an accord before the offender was made available for punishment. An agreement might not be reached, but the proprieties had to be observed. Where the victim and murderer were of the same tribe, formalities of attempted settlement were not necessary.<sup>15</sup> Although Cass made no comment on this practice, it may well have been founded in wisdom and a sensible desire to prevent intertribal blood feuds from growing to unmanageable proportions. Confirmation of this custom appears in other contemporary sources, including the description of the procedure employed to settle for the murder of a Winnebago by a drunken Menominee. After suitable deliberation, ten gallons of whiskey was determined to be a fair price, and it was "drunk by all parties over the grave of the deceased."<sup>16</sup>

It seems reasonable, therefore, to advance the hypothesis that while the Indians had no formal means for the administration of criminal justice and while they apparently recognized the existence of no crime except murder, they did have adequate methods of restraining unbridled commission of unjustifiable homicide and either to redress the family of the victim or to punish the offender.

The nature of these Indian institutions, evolved to fit the requirements of a primitive society, made them incomprehensible to the average white man, who saw in them only added evidence of the barbarity of the aboriginal tribes. The lawyer of the same period deplored the omission of any consideration of the intent with which the deed was committed and tended to regard its absence as a clear indication that all true restraints on Indian behavior were lacking.<sup>17</sup> Cass was more realistic in his appraisal when he expressed his opinion of Indian justice in a speech to the Senate in 1855, observing that in a society which had neither law nor superior authority the only way to prevent murders was "by an institution which put the power of retaliation into the possession of the injured party."<sup>18</sup> Intertribal and

<sup>15</sup>Cass, "Indians of North America," in the *North American Review*, 22:53.

<sup>16</sup>Wisconsin Historical Collections, 14:153-54 (Madison, 1898).

<sup>17</sup>Cass, "Documents and Proceedings," in the *North American Review*, 30:62.

<sup>18</sup>Cass, "Speech to the Senate on the Army Appropriation Bill," *Congressional Globe*, 36:512.

intratribal justice tended to achieve effective results as long as the tribes were not brought into contact with a complex civilization; when that event occurred, it could not but fail to break down or become inadequate.

The *Inquiries* and his attempts to answer his own queries did not limit the interest of Lewis Cass in the Indians and their legal and political institutions. A subject mentioned only obliquely in the pamphlet was the Indian system of land tenure. There is ample evidence in the other writings of Cass, published and unpublished, that he had devoted considerable care and attention to it and was prepared to discuss it intelligently, not only from the viewpoint of domestic law but from international law and the status of the original tenure of the Indians as well. Yet he never allowed himself to be so preoccupied with fine-spun theories as to neglect the actual problems raised for the government and people of the United States by the general question of the title by which the Indians held their land.

The tenure, by which the primitive inhabitants of this continent held their land, is a question of metaphysical speculation rather than one of practical right. All will agree, that they were entitled to as much, as could supply them with subsistence, in the mode to which they were accustomed . . . whatever was not thus wanted and employed, might be appropriated by others to their own use. The new race of men, who landed upon these shores, found that their predecessors had affixed few distinctive marks of property in the forests where they roamed—There were none of those permanent improvements, which elsewhere, by universal assent, become the evidence of the security of individual appropriation—.<sup>19</sup>

Cass went on to allege that the original tenure by which the Indians held the land was nothing more than occupancy for the purpose of hunting, and as it was the obvious intention of the Creator that land should be cultivated (which the Indians showed no disposition to do), domination of the land belonged to those who would use it in accordance with Divine intention and on the basis of the right of discovery.<sup>20</sup>

The Indian tribes therefore, could not be considered as entitled to the protection accorded to sovereign nations by international law,

<sup>19</sup>Lewis Cass, "Service of Indians in Civilized Warfare," in the *North American Review*, 24:365 (April 1827).

<sup>20</sup>Cass, "Documents and Proceedings," in the *North American Review*, 30:62.

which was designed to apply to equals. The fact that treaties were concluded with them did not place them on the same level with the United States government, although Cass admitted that the practice of ratifying these treaties by the Senate did give support to those who were arguing that the Indian tribes possessed certain of the characteristics of sovereign nations. This argument he considered to be refuted effectively by the nature of the Federal laws dealing with the Indians, which were predicated on the assumption that Congress had full power to pass and direct the enforcement of such legislation. For this reason, the tribes could not be considered as having the ability to alienate their lands; they possessed only the right of occupancy with the power to cede to the United States government.<sup>21</sup>

Cass did not feel, however, that this limitation upon the power of the Indians to convey their lands was any excuse for mistreatment. The use of force was without justification, and liberal compensation for all cessions should be granted.<sup>22</sup> The most desirable development would be, he felt, for the Indians to remove themselves west of the Mississippi where they should receive every encouragement to own and occupy separate pieces of land as individuals. If, however, they did decide to remain in their original territory, they should "be protected in the possession of their land and other property, and be subject, as our citizens are, to the operation of just and wholesome law."<sup>23</sup> He feared, however, that their refusal to adjust to the institutions of the whites indicated that removal was the only practical means of insuring them subsistence, as the cultivated lands pressed more and more upon their hunting grounds. Cass concluded his discussion of the tenure by which the Indians held their lands and

<sup>21</sup>Cass, "Documents and Proceedings," in the *North American Review*, 30:79-82. Cass did point out the inconsistencies apparent in the political treatment of the Indians: "We negotiate treaties with them, and deny their right to enter into an alliance with any other power, or to convey their lands without the assent of our government. We pass laws to punish them for offences committed in their own country, and acknowledge their right to declare war and conclude peace. We regulate their trade, prohibit the sale of strong liquor to them, and its introduction into their country, interdict the passage of our citizens across the boundary except for specified objects and forbid and require many other acts to be done for their safety or our own." Cass, "Documents and Proceedings," in the *North American Review*, 30:82.

<sup>22</sup>Cass, "Documents and Proceedings," in the *North American Review*, 30:76-77.

<sup>23</sup>Cass, "Documents and Proceedings," in the *North American Review*, 30:104.

his suggestions for their protection with the following statement, which to a considerable extent seems to summarize his position upon the subject:

In asserting the ultimate title of the general or state governments to the land lying within their respective jurisdictions and occupied by the Indians, we interpose no claim to the possession without their free consent. And for all useful purposes, this is the only interest they can enjoy; particularly as their right of disposal is restricted to a sale to the proper government, or to those to whom the right of purchase has been assigned. We have presented our views . . . of this subject . . . because it . . . meets the objections of speculative writers who maintain the absolute title of the Indians, and seem disposed to carry this claim to its legitimate consequences, to the right of conveyance, whensoever and howsoever they may feel disposed to exercise it.<sup>24</sup>

At no time did Cass waver from his position that it was the obligation of the government to treat the Indian fairly and to pay him fully for his land. He considered that the American system of continuing annuities was far superior to the British system of immediate presents as full and final payment. He offered as further evidence of the good intentions of the United States government the federal laws designed to protect the Indians against unscrupulous traders, against hunting or fishing or trapping on Indian lands, against the sale of whiskey; the policy of the federal government requiring equality of treatment in the courts and the presumption in favor of the Indians which existed in all cases of injuries; and the money which was appropriated to civilize them.<sup>25</sup> But there must have been doubts existing, despite his assertion, which in 1855 caused him to say:

The Indians are not always wrong, nor the whites always right.

So far as regards the conduct of the American Government toward this unfortunate race, I think that it is historically irreproachable. . . . I regret we cannot say as much for the conduct of individuals.<sup>26</sup>

Undoubtedly Lewis Cass had done his best to assist and protect the Indians. He had tried to preserve information concerning the Indian in his original state, to understand the operation of his mind, and to comprehend the nature of his laws and institutions. At all

<sup>24</sup>Cass, "Documents and Proceedings," in the *North American Review*, 30:116.

<sup>25</sup>Cass, "Service of Indians in Civilized Warfare," in the *North American Review*, 24:365.

<sup>26</sup>Cass, "Speech to the Senate on the Army Appropriation Bill," *Congressional Globe*, 36:511.

times he had attempted to act in fairness and in justice. But neither he nor any other man had the power to hold back the white settlers and prevent the Indians from being dispossessed of their lands, from being corrupted by the example and practice of the whites, and from having their cherished customs and effective, although rudimentary, standards of justice thrust aside and discarded. Whether done through the incomprehensible complexities of Anglo-American laws and jurisprudence or by the more comprehensible but completely inexorable force of land-hungry men moving into the forests and prairies of the Northwest Territory made little difference to the Indian tribes. In the bitterness and despair which settled upon them, they had few friends and fewer articulate spokesmen. Lewis Cass was one, and in this aspect of his activities, the merit of according him greater respect than he already possesses should be recognized. Not only the breadth of his scholarship but also his character are enhanced by investigation into his studies and his efforts concerning the hapless red man.

## Local History and the Schools

### OUR EXCITING VISIT TO THE CAPITOL

*By Carmela Baleja, Jay Becker, Darleen Bowein, Louise Colman, Marcia DeCann, Linda Eggleston, Stephen Englehart, John Harper, James Hodder, Estelle Horowitz, Laddie Hudson, Herbert Hughes, Karen Johnson, David Kerns, Barbara Key, Nancy Lyon, Kenneth Martin, Rene Mattern, Dennis McCray, Donald McCullough, Bertha Mills, Basil Morgan, Nickolas Palmer, Judith Probe, Georgiana Reeves, Dolores Rhoads, David Schell, John Schneider, John Stindt, Sharon Tolomio, David Turner, and Dolores Tynes*

*This is the story of one of the many school groups that visit Lansing each year. Its authors are listed above. They are members of the fourth grade of Ferris School, Highland Park. Their teacher was Mrs. Ellen C. Hathaway, a former trustee of the Historical Society of Michigan. Editor.*

IT WAS A DULL RAINY MORNING, but we didn't mind. All our Fourth Grade class, including John Stindt whom we had elected "Room Governor" and our teacher, Mrs. Hathaway, were ready to climb into the Greyhound Bus. We were glad that three of our room parents, Mrs. Alvin Johnson, Mr. Hartley Kerns, and Mrs. Walter Key, had planned to go along. Every one called out "Good Bye." We were on our way to Lansing to visit our state capitol.

In a little while the city was far behind, and the buildings became fewer and fewer. We sang songs and ate the fruit the room parents furnished. We hunted for landmarks as we passed through Farmington, Novi, New Hudson, Fowlerville and Brighton. As we went through Novi we were told it was named for Station No. VI. We had read that coal had been mined in Williamston, but no one from the bus could see any signs of a mine.

Before we knew it, we were in Lansing and approaching the capitol. We were glad to see the statue of Austin Blair, the Civil

War governor because we remembered how much he helped Abe Lincoln with the war.

The carved figures in the pediment were just as we had imagined them. The Indian maiden representing Michigan was throwing away the tomahawk and scalping knife. Lady Agriculture and Commerce were on either side of her. Just as we started up the walk, we met our Highland Park friend, state Representative Richard L. Thomson, who was expecting us. He greeted the class and immediately directed us to the ground floor of the capitol. We had time for only a quick look at the cases filled with old money, swords, bullets, canteens, and bugles from the Civil War days.

Mr. Thomson was motioning to us and told us that the elevator was waiting for us. We got off at the second floor and walked toward the House of Representatives. Above the Speaker's seat at the front was a large coat of arms of Michigan. Fastened to the clerk's desk was a model of the great seal and at our right hung the Michigan flag.

We gathered around the Speaker's seat and listened while Mr. Thomson explained how bills became laws. We understood that laws are born when people get together and talk about making improvements they believe should become laws. Mr. Thomson said the legislators learn all the facts about a bill before it passes. A bill is introduced in either house and it is named for the person who suggests it. The bill is given to the clerk of the House or the secretary of the Senate to read. There are thirty-two Senators and one hundred Representatives elected by the people every two years.

We asked Mr. Thomson how the representatives knew where they sat. "The seats in the House are numbered," he told us. "The Representative who has been there longest, gets the seat he prefers. The speaker is elected by the members of the House. The lieutenant governor is president of the Senate, but he does not vote. The House is called to order by the speaker."

Mr. Thomson explained that the clerk of the House reads all bills twice by title, and that the bills are then printed and sent to a committee. More bills die in committee than become laws. The committee members study bills carefully before they are returned for the third reading. All members of the House and Senate debate on these bills. Mr. Thomson showed us how they used the automatic

voting device we were examining. He said, "When a Representative presses a certain button on his desk a red or green light flashes after his name on the great board hanging in front of the House. It shows that he has voted yes, or no or no vote at all.

Mr. Thomson went on to tell us that a bill after it passes is signed by the clerk and sent to the Senate. The Senate goes through the same procedure the House uses except the members vote by ballot. A bill must pass both Houses and be signed by Governor Williams before it becomes a law. If the Governor refuses to sign it, the bill must go through the same steps and pass each House by two-thirds majority to become a law without the Governor's signature.

We were sorry we didn't have more time in the chamber of the Senate. We were told that Governor Williams had just called a joint session to honor General Douglas McArthur the Friday before we arrived. Mr. Thomson presented us with a copy of the daily calendar dated Thursday, May 15, 1952.

We noticed some paintings hanging on the wall in the House. As we looked at the fine portrait of Stevens T. Mason we remembered he was once the boy governor of Michigan. Another painting, we were told, was Governor Lewis Cass and we all thought how proud he would be if he knew his seal was still in use after 127 years.

The guide told us the story behind the big brass chandelier hanging from the ceiling in the great hall. An elk and a moose were up there holding the shield with the word, *Tuebor*, on it, meaning, "I will defend." The weight of this chandelier, he said was seven hundred pounds. We thought that was a lot of weight for a chandelier.

We did not want to miss visiting with Miss Opal Whitford, keeper of the Great Seal in the office of the secretary of state. She demonstrated how the seal was used on official documents. Luckily the vault was open, and we could peak in at the files and books stored there. To us it looked like a secretary's office or a huge library.

Down the corridor hung a beautiful mural painted by Roy Gamble. We liked very much the colors he used and the way they blended together. There were reds, greens, blues, yellows, and a weird white. We saw an ox-drawn covered wagon coming along the winding road. A man on horseback carrying a gun rode along

beside a second wagon. In front was a man driving two pigs. In the lower right hand corner were three Sauk Indian Chiefs standing beside Father Gabriel Richard and Governor Cass studying a map of the Sauk Trail. We were sorry we didn't have time to study the other three murals hanging in the corridor.

Kenneth declared on the side that the capitol made him think of an airplane. The Senate and the House were the wings; the Governor's office, the motor; and the dome, the radar and antenna.

Our next stop was the Supreme Court on the third floor. We learned that this is the highest court in Michigan with eight judges sitting on the bench. Their name plates are fastened on the back of each leather-finished chair. These judges study hundreds of cases sent in from the lower courts of Michigan. Their decisions are final. The cupboards behind the judges are stacked with bound volumes containing all the cases that have come up before the Supreme Court. We couldn't believe our ears when the guides told us that the lovely Persian carpet on the floor was fifty-two years old, and that the ceiling of the court had never been washed since the capitol was built.

We inquired of the guide how much longer we had to wait before we visited the dome. To our great disappointment he refused our request because "some careless guy" had once set fire to the state office building. After that the fire marshal had ruled "No more going to the dome." The best we could do was to stand on the great glass floor of the rotunda, look up 175 feet, and imagine that we were up there.

Our third appointment was with Mr. C. J. Sherman at the historical museum six blocks from the capitol. As we entered the building, we spied a statue of Stevens T. Mason standing near the door. He seemed to be waiting there to greet us. There were cases filled with guns used by Michigan soldiers from every war. Other guns were from far away countries where American soldiers had fought. On the walls of the stairway were pictures of many famous pioneers. On our tour of the museum we examined Indian costumes, doll cradles, a Mammy cradle that was long as a couch, sleigh runners, wooden skates, a handkerchief used by Stevens Mason, a tin baby-bottle, paper weights, and early costumes worn by famous people. Mr. Sherman knew many stories about the pioneers.

The funniest thing we saw was an old-fashioned tooth puller. It was like a pair of pliers with a hook on the end. The doctor put the hook under the tooth, turned the handle and out popped the tooth. Mr. Sherman told us a good story about a man who stood on the street corner and pulled teeth for anybody who had a toothache. There were no dentists in those days. When the family doctor made a home call he often treated his patients and pulled their teeth all in one visit.

As we were leaving the museum grounds we passed by a boxcar from France. We also saw an old-fashioned fire engine. We wished we could have had time to examine them. Our visit was far too short. We decided some time we would return to the museum for a longer look.

As Mrs. Hathaway was studying our agenda suddenly someone remarked, "Let's eat!" John Harper's mother had made our reservations ahead of time at the Y. W. C. A. so we made that our next stop. For lunch we ate delicious hamburgers, potato chips, salad, and topped it off with ice cream. After we had finished, Governor John thanked Representative Richard Thomson for giving his day to us and then introduced Dr. Lewis Beeson from the Historical Commission who made a short speech, and invited us to write this story of our trip to the capitol. John asked for a motion just to make it legal, and it was carried unanimously. As spokesman for all the class, John thanked Mr. Beeson for this great honor and said we would have it ready by June.

## Notes and Documents

### NATIONAL SKI HALL OF FAME

*Burton H. Boyum*

THE MINING COMMUNITY OF ISHPERING in Marquette County is to be the site of a new museum in Michigan. It is to be the national ski museum to be called the National Ski Hall of Fame. The idea of a museum in Ishpeming developed in 1944 at the fortieth anniversary of the National Ski Association banquet held in Ishpeming. It was in this community on February 21, 1904, that the National Ski Association of America was conceived and organized by a group of enthusiasts led by Carl Tellefson, who became the first president of the National Ski Association. At the banquet in 1944, Roger Langley, president, Arthur Barth, secretary, and Harold Grinden, national historian, all recommended that both the Ishpeming Ski Club and the National Ski Association consider such a structure, as the National Ski Association has no permanent headquarters.

After World War II the Ishpeming Ski Club continued to work on this idea and in the fall of 1948 presented a plan to the Central United States Ski Association and the National Ski Association. The plan was to build a fire-resistant structure in or adjacent to Ishpeming which might be added to in the years to come. In 1950, Arthur Barth, the president of the National Ski Association, was impressed with the living nature of the Norwegian National Ski Museum at Oslo. This latter structure is used the year around, not only as a museum but for sports events which are centered in that immediate area near Oslo. He proposed that this be considered in the design and the location of the museum building. He felt that, if the building could be used both summer and winter and by numerous community groups, it would take its place in the community as an active unit. It would also be available at any time of the year to tourists who might be passing through this part of Michigan.

The various ideas which had been developing in the national committee since the 1948 convention of the National Ski Association

were assembled by Harold Starin, nationally known architect from Duluth, Minnesota. Mr. Starin and his associates were engaged by the Ishpeming Ski Club to execute the design of the building. The site was chosen in the new eighth addition to the city of Ishpeming. This area lies to the north of the principal portion of the town and to the north of the main arterial highway, US-41. It is immediately south of the large and well-developed winter sports area. In the winter sports area are located three ski tows, a toboggan run, and two junior jumping hills. Thus it is an ideal location for such a structure.

In the development of the museum, the committee has considered various aspects of such a structure. It would be a repository for the records of the fifty years of growth of the National Ski Association. These records, unless some such structure as the museum were built, would continue to rotate from secretary to secretary of the organization. The museum would act as a central gathering point for all this information.

A considerable amount of promotional material could be developed from this backlog of information. This can be done through photographs and by having a service available to publications and to ski clubs throughout the United States who desire both pictures and background material on active competitors or ski areas as well as the historic highlights of the past. It is proposed that the museum, once it has been developed, would act as such a promotional center for the National Ski Association.

The museum would be the resting place for a number of articles of historic interest which would trace the growth and development of the skiing gear. One attraction is the promise by the Norwegian Ski Association of a number of pairs of ancient skis. Some of these skis are said to be eight hundred years old. It is surprising to see the great development that has taken place in the last fifty years with respect to skiing equipment and clothing. It is proposed that a series of displays be made which show the trends in these articles as well as the development of safety features which make for better skiing.

With the shift in emphasis from the museum to the hall of fame, the plan is to have photographs of each of the national champions in the various divisions of the National Ski Association. While the

average ski enthusiast is what might be termed a recreational skier, probably the greatest publicity for the sport has been through the competitive phase. In this regard, the museum will probably follow the trend established by the National Baseball Hall of Fame Museum at Cooperstown, New York. There the museum has followed out the champion theme and the presentation to the public is very forceful.

The last phase of the museum is that which may develop in years to come—a research subdivision of the National Ski Association. There are many phases of the sport which are dependent upon research. The museum or hall of fame could act as a gathering point for this type of research and also for a publication and promotional outlet for this part of skiing.

With the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the National Ski Association to be held in Ishpeming in February, 1954, it is hoped that the basic structure of this museum can be completed for dedication at that time. The officials are planning an extensive program around the fiftieth anniversary jubilee, and the existence of the hall of fame at that time would be a distinct asset to the state of Michigan and to the Upper Peninsula. The sport of skiing is growing every year and certainly Ishpeming is well known throughout ski circles across the entire world. It has been an outstanding community for competitive skiers, particularly in jumping, going back to the first organized tournament in 1887.

## Michigan News

THE MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION has issued as its sixth service manual *A Short List of Selected Subject Headings*, prepared by Philip P. Mason of the University of Michigan. These are the subject headings used in the manuscript catalog in the Michigan Historical Collections at the University. It is hoped that the list will prove helpful to the catalogers of small collections of Michigan manuscripts throughout the state.

*Historic Michigan*, A PICTORIAL MAP OF THE STATE, went on sale by the Historical Society of Michigan in May. The map is the result of several years of research and effort by a committee of the society headed by Dr. Alfred H. Whittaker. It contains over 125 items of historical interest. The cartouche has on it several historical figures related to Michigan's period of discovery and exploration. Every type of lake vessel is depicted in the waters surrounding the state. The border carries Indian names of peculiar significance to Michigan. The map was drawn and illustrated by Mr. Frank Barcus of Detroit.

The publication of *Historic Michigan* was made possible by the National Bank of Detroit. In the months of January and February the bank distributed over 14,000 copies of the map to its friends and to the schools of the state. The bank also provided the Historical Society of Michigan with ten thousand copies. Five thousand copies of the society's stock of the map are being reserved for members. Old members will receive a copy of the map if they renew their membership by September 30, 1953. New members will receive a copy of the map when they join the society. The other five thousand copies are being placed on sale at \$1.50 retail.

The initial response to the map has been most encouraging. Comments received by the National Bank of Detroit on the map have been uniformly favorable. The map is "very interesting," "is colorful," "is rich in historical tradition," "most interesting and informative," and "beautifully illustrated," according to some of the letters received by the bank. Other comments expressed the views of the trustees of the society: "your bank is to be congratulated for making this great contribution to history"; "your bank has performed a real

public service"; and "your bank rendered a fine service to Michigan schools."

According to the *Adcrafter* for January 27, there are many interesting facts that one can learn from the historic map prepared by the Historical Society of Michigan. For instance, you can learn that the first railroad west of New York was built between Adrian and Toledo in 1836; that the first Bessemer steel plant was built in Wyandotte in 1864; that Michigan has the longest coastline of all the states; that the highest point in the lower peninsula is near Cadillac.

A picture of the map and a story about it have appeared in *Enbeddee* for March-April, 1953, and the *Bulletin of the Detroit Historical Society* for Summer 1953.

THE BAY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY began the year 1952-53 with a picnic at the cottage of Mr. and Mrs. George X. Allen. Following this initial event, the society took part in the Centennial Celebration of the Amelith Church by conferring a Centennial Farm award on Mr. and Mrs. Carl Kloha. Vernon Beal, records administrator for the Michigan Historical Commission, presented the certificate and plaque. He then introduced the president of our society, Sidney Fellows, who explained the centennial farm program. President Fellows has been very interested in securing recognition for centennial farmers, and has been active in ferreting out the farmers who should receive this honor. Mr. Allen has found four more centennial farm families, whose application for a farm award is before the Michigan Historical Commission.

The Bay County Society has had nine meetings during the year with an average attendance of fifteen persons.

Mrs. Henretta Witmer Calhoun presented a case, a series of drawers, and cupboards with shelves to the museum. Mrs. Charles Sharon, Mr. Oscar Ladarack, and Mr. George X. Allen, curator, have made possible a miniature display of tugs and boats that have traveled the Saginaw River and the Great Lakes.

The Bay County Board of Supervisors helps defray the expenses and upkeep of the Bay County Museum and of its curator. The museum which has been maintained for a number of years by the society, has proven of great value not only to Bay County residents but to visitors from Michigan and other states. The museum is open

from two to five, except Saturday and Sunday. By request this year, Mr. Richard Wysong of Central State Teachers College took a class on an historical tour. The first stopping place on this tour was at the museum. Miss Erma Hodgson of Central High School, Bay City, conducted two of her classes through the museum during class periods. All gained from the visit. The council records of early Bay City have been deposited by the Michigan Historical Commission with the Bay County Historical Society where they have fire-proof protection.

The Board of Auditors have granted permission for a library alcove, which must first be enclosed, to house all historical books, pamphlets, and papers.

The annual meeting was held on May 18, 1953, and the following officers and directors were elected for the year 1953-54: president, Sidney Fellows; first vice-president, R. D. Roberts; second vice-president, Hubert Ames; treasurer, Otto Garber; secretary, Miss Minnie C. Beuthin; historian, George Butterfield. Directors: Miss Emily Hartley; the Rev. Henry Kreulen; Mr. Oscar Laderack; Mr. Adrian McLellen; Miss Emma Gene Pfeifer; Mrs. Doris Schooltz; Mrs. William K. Swan; Mr. Clair White. Life directors: George Butterfield, George X. Allen.

Mr. Allen, curator and life director of the society, died June 3, 1953. We regret the loss of this member who was well versed in Indian lore.

DR. ALFRED H. WHITTAKER'S ACCOUNT of the Dr. William Beaumont memorial on Mackinac Island, which appeared in the March 1953 issue of *Michigan History*, also has been published in two other Michigan journals: the *Journal of the Michigan Medical Society* for February 1953, and the *Michigan State Bar Journal* for April 1953.

AT A CONFERENCE IN DETROIT, December 29, 1951, a group of scholars interested in onomastics founded the American Name Society. The organization has been incorporated and has issued the first number of a quarterly journal *Names*. *Names* is devoted to the dissemination of studies and research on the etymology, origin, meaning and application of geographical, personal, scientific, commercial, and popular names. Among the articles in the first issue of the publication is "America: The Story of a Name."

## Book Reviews and Notes

*America First: The Battle Against Intervention, 1940-1941.* By Wayne S. Cole. (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1953. 305 p. Notes, bibliography, index. \$3.50.)

Little serious research has been done on the "Great Debate" over American foreign policy during the period 1940-41, when the sharp lines of conflict were drawn between isolationist and interventionist in the fifteen months preceding Pearl Harbor. It is clear in retrospect, however, that the American attitude displayed during these months toward the European war set the pattern for wartime and postwar foreign policy, an issue that played so large a part in the campaigns of 1952. Dr. Cole's volume, an intensive study and analysis on the America First Committee, throws light on one thread of this pattern, and makes more understandable the course of recent events in American foreign affairs.

The America First Committee was perhaps the most powerful and best organized pressure group opposed to the foreign policy of the Roosevelt administration. It involved, at one time or another, such people as Generals Robert S. Wood and Hugh Johnson, Senators Gerald P. Nye and Burton K. Wheeler, Kathleen Norris, Chester Bowles, and Charles Lindbergh. It conducted a dramatic, vocal, and well-financed campaign against intervention down to December 7, 1941, and in the author's opinion fought the administration very nearly to a standstill. It had, as Dr. Cole points out, a strong influence on prewar foreign policy, and did much to shape the course of postwar thought.

Dr. Cole's purpose in this volume is to trace analytically the history of the America First Committee from its inception to its end, survey its policies and personnel, and estimate its importance as a factor in politics and foreign affairs. It is not possible, in his opinion, to definitively determine the full effect of the committee's activities on United States foreign policy during the period, since many other factors and issues were involved in its course. He does conclude, however, that the America Firsters succeeded in mobilizing and leading scattered noninterventionist opinion, organizing it, and in making it felt in Congress during the delicate, crucial maneuverings of the state department in 1940 and 1941. Certainly the America First Committee influenced powerfully the diplomatic strategy of Roosevelt, who pursued a much more middle-of-the-road course, out of deference to the America Firsters, than he would have preferred. It was the threat of America First opposition, Dr. Cole believes, that led Roosevelt to avoid a test of strength in Congress over ship convoys in 1941, over sending draftees abroad, or over increases in European aid in both 1940 and 1941. Roosevelt, during much of the period

immediately preceding Pearl Harbor, was very nearly the prisoner of his critics, among whom the America First Committee was by far the most influential.

The motives beneath the founding of the America First Committee were sincere, Dr. Cole believes. Few of its members intended to use it simply as an anti-Roosevelt tool, and the organization itself attempted to keep its skirts clear of neo-fascist, anti-Semitic, and anti-Catholic elements. In this it was not wholly successful, particularly on the state and local level, while Lindbergh's unfortunate Des Moines speech alienated a large number of prominent liberal supporters. Arguments between those who hoped to make it a third party (or at least a Republican affiliate) and those who held out for nonpartisanship, split the committee further and created internal tensions in its national leadership. Some of its supporters sank to demagogism and abuse, and some of its opponents did likewise. The record of the bitter debates of 1941 between isolationists and interventionists is not a pleasant one to review, and Dr. Cole wisely allows the record to speak for itself.

Pearl Harbor, of course, stopped the America First movement dead in its tracks, though it by no means killed the noninterventionist, isolationist tradition it represented. Dr. Coles, a member of the history department at the University of Arkansas, had unrestricted access to the complete files of the America First Committee as well as to the private files of several of its leaders. His handling of the mass of material at his disposal, much of it highly controversial, is a model of objectivity and fairness. It is difficult to see how a more thorough, straightforward, and definitive study could have been made of a topic that generated so recently so much heated disagreement. For those who would understand the backgrounds of contemporary American foreign policy his book is required reading.

Michigan State College

RUSSEL B. NYE

*The Great Railroad Conspiracy.* By Charles Hirschfeld. (East Lansing, The Michigan State College Press, 1953. 128 p. Illustrations, notes. \$2.50.)

*The Great Railroad Conspiracy* is an objective treatment of a highly controversial chapter in the history of the Michigan Central Railroad and the territory which it serves.

The reader should understand at the outset that the "conspiracy" referred to was *against* the railroad, not *by* it. When the Michigan Central declined to pay more than half the value of cattle killed by its trains on the railroad right of way, many of the farmers and townspeople attempted to halt operation of the railroad, or at least to hamper it, by maliciously stoning and wrecking the trains, destroying the track, burning ties and lumber and finally, it was alleged, setting fire to and destroying one

of the Central's large freight depots, resulting in damages of several thousands of dollars.

The long and strenuous trial which followed ended with twelve of the alleged "conspirators" receiving prison terms of five to ten years, all of which were commuted before they had run their course. However, neither the convictions nor the commutations brought the case to an end. It continued to be a source of argument and ill will for many years, and is debated even today.

Dr. Hirschfeld, commendably, does not attempt to influence the reader's sympathies either in favor of the railroad or of the "conspirators." Accordingly, those who will read the book are apt to be as divided in their opinions as were the people of that day.

But regardless of which side was right or wrong, and it seems clear that neither side was entirely blameless, the reader will do well to bear in mind the author's statement which appears at the middle of page 102, that "In a broader sense, all the actions of the railroad company in this savage conflict may perhaps be understood more clearly in the light of contemporary business policy."

The same might have been said of the actions of the "conspirators," for just as the railroad conceived its role "as one of pioneer development . . ." acting without benefit of the accepted good business codes and practices we know today, so, too, were there few laws or effective agencies of law enforcement to guide the actions of individuals in such matters and to restrain their excesses.

*Association of American Railways*

ROBERT S. HENRY

*When Pine Was King.* By Lewis C. Reimann. (Ann Arbor, Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1952. 163 p. Illustrations \$3.75.)

Lumbering in Michigan produced an age that writers have long found attractive as a background for the retelling of favorite anecdotes and legends. Although both the exacting reader and the casual peruser of his state's history may deplore the lack of a definitive or even adequate history of this great period of Michigan's past, there is no shortage of the stuff in which the social historian can work. Adding another entertaining volume to the supply of such materials, Mr. Reimann has written *When Pine Was King* as a sequel to his *Between the Iron and the Pine*.

It has not been his intention to deal with lumbering as such, but only to touch upon the social consequences of the age. The new book actually is a compilation of short stories about various aspects of the lumberman's life—stories which range in subject matter from the Toledo War to prostitution. A number of excellent prints are included, most of which were supplied by the Michigan Historical Collections, the Burton Historical Collection, or the University of Michigan's school of natural

resources. In a supplement, Mr. Reimann defines a number of lumberjack terms, lists some of the logging companies which operated in the Upper Peninsula, and gives the limericks of four lumbering songs.

Granted that the volume is essentially a collection of folklore, the reader will deplore the notable lack of facts which could do much to place the material in a proper historical setting. Dates are lacking almost entirely, and one has difficulty in determining whether the action took place in the 1880's or in the 1920's. In speaking of the "Michigan Game Commission," the author is probably referring to the Game Warden Department which was established in 1887 with William Alden Smith as the state's first game warden.

It is perhaps unavoidable that a book of this type should leave a rather one-sided impression of the lumbermen's activities. Mr. Reimann cautions his reader against such a false view by saying, "It should not be thought that the oldtime lumberjack did nothing but wear out the brass rail with his calked shoes while he wore out his mackinaw elbows leaning on the bar." However, it is the barkeepers, the prostitutes, and the battle-scarred lumberjacks who, for the most part, are honored in these tales. Their exploits may be the most interesting from a popular point of view, but it is questionable whether they best represent the state's lumbering era. Of course, it is highly desirable to preserve some of the folklore of the industry in which Michigan played such a major part, and, somehow, after reading the book one is more familiar with the problems and the way of life of the Upper Peninsula woodsmen.

University of Michigan

EUGENE T. PETERSEN

*On Freedom's Altar. The Martyr Complex in the Abolition Movement.* By Hazel Catherine Wolf. (Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1952. xvi, 195 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$3.75.)

This is a study of a single aspect of the abolition movement, built about the theme that its leaders conceived and capitalized on a traditionally Christian concept of martyrdom as a means of enlisting popular support for an unpopular reform. Until approximately 1831, the anti-slavery cause had fairly widespread backing and was advanced in a non-aggressive, orderly manner. After that date, however, abolitionism usurped the stage and the basis of the argument over Negro emancipation shifted to an aggressive, militant basis. By seizing on and developing the established martyr tradition, abolitionist leaders such as Garrison, Weld, Torrey, and others gained increasing public approval of their crusade, until, as the author explains, it was almost as difficult to be antiabolitionist as antireligious. The abolitionists, paralleling the experiences of the early Christians, evolved a clearly defined pattern of martyrdom, of indifference

followed by conversion, forgiveness of one's enemies, willingness to suffer, sacrifice of personal ambition, and complete dedication to their cause.

By the opening of the early nineteenth century, Miss Wolf explains, the pattern of martyrdom was already well developed in the United States. The Puritans, who read Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* nearly as faithfully as they read the Bible, contributed a number of early martyrs in the persons of maltreated missionaries to the Indians. Religious rebels such as Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson, scalped and tortured settlers, and imprisoned English Puritans contributed more. The troubles with Britain in the eighteenth century provided a new secular set of martyrs—the victims of the Boston Massacre, the Valley Forge soldiers, and of course Nathan Hale. Reinforced by nineteenth century evangelistic humanitarianism, particularly Charles Grandison Finney's "perfectionism," the tradition of martyrdom was solidly established by the time that William Lloyd Garrison opened the aggressive phase of the abolition crusade in 1831. Chiefly under Garrisonian influence, abolitionism became integrated with martyrdom. By struggle and suffering, abolitionists succeeded in merging their cause with cherished traditions of free speech, free press, right of petition, right of jury trial, and eventually the cause of human liberty itself. This, as Miss Wolf points out, was neither a cynical nor a conscious exploration of an emotionally loaded concept, but a sincerely held position.

The body of Miss Wolf's study is concerned with an analysis of the abolitionist movement and its personnel, illustrating how martyrdom became an increasingly efficient weapon in the hands of shrewd, sincere men. Garrison, who was paraded through Boston streets with a rope around his waist, set the early pattern. Elijah Lovejoy, who died defending his press in Illinois, gave the cause its first martyred hero, followed by Theodore Dwight Weld, Prudence Crandall, Charles Turner Torrey, and dozens of fugitive slaves, editors, agents, and lecturers. John Brown's execution merged humanitarianism, martyrdom, and abolitionism into a new synthesis, wherein the cause of the slave became virtually a sacred Christian mission. The Civil War itself represented, in some ways, an extension of the abolitionist martyr tradition, and with Lincoln's assassination martyrdom entered party politics, where the Radical Republicans claimed it and used it for partisan purposes. He who opposed the Republican party, it was assumed, denied Lincoln, the moral foundations of abolitionism, rejected the purposes of the war itself, and struck at the great American and Christian tradition of liberty.

By reassessing the issues that moved events in the United States from 1830 to 1865, the author has done much to clarify the aims of the abolitionist movement and bring it into proper historical focus. By identifying and explaining the emotional backgrounds of the abolitionist crusade, Miss Wolf has done much to establish the fact that one of the reasons for the success of abolitionism was its successful merger with the American tradition of freedom and the Christian concept of martyrdom.

No other reform movement in American history became so charged with emotional, humanitarian, and religious connotations. By analyzing and documenting an important aspect of the abolitionist controversy, Miss Wolf has helped to clarify one of its most puzzling problems—how could an unpopular reform, initially suppressed and almost universally condemned by the American public, gain such wide support, enlist the energies of so many men and women, and even provide part of the motivation for a civil war? There were, of course, other factors operative in the process; abolitionism became identified with unionism, became entangled with party politics, and became inextricably bound up with sectional economic and social issues. But by untangling a neglected psychological thread from the tangled skein of events that preceded the Civil War, the author has made a valuable contribution to the historical scholarship of the period.

Michigan State College

RUSSEL B. NYE

*Give the Lady What She Wants. The Story of Marshall Field & Company.* By Lloyd Wendt and Herman Kogan. (Chicago, Rand McNally and Company, 1952. 384 p. Illustrations, index. \$4.50.)

The subtitle on this important book says simply: "The story of Marshall Field and Company." However the book is much more than that. It is the history of an American era. It is a story of the commercial conquest of the new west by migrants from New England. It portrays two major evolutions—the development of the American retail system, and the changing role of the American woman. This and more is all wrapped around the fascinating history of the Marshall Field store—an institution of international renown unique and apart in the wide world of trade.

It is not the history of one man—but one man's ideals dominated and shaped the development of the institution the whole world knows today. He was Marshall Field, of course, but he was not the founder. Potter Palmer at twenty-six, gave up his little drygoods store in Lockport, New York, and came to Chicago to see what the future held for him there. Within one week he had signed a \$1500 lease for a drygoods store twenty feet wide and 160 feet deep on Lake Street—the street of merchants. Palmer did incredibly well, despite panics and failures elsewhere. His aggressiveness, boldness, and complete independence regarding the common retail practices of his day stamped him as a man apart.

Four years after Palmer had begun his phenomenal retail and wholesale operations, twenty-one year old Marshall Field, arriving from Pittsfield, Massachusetts, with almost five years of small town retail experience behind him, cautiously picked his way through the streets of Chicago. Everybody was talking about the wonderful future of the city and

gambling on this potential. He got his first job with Cooley and Wadsworth on trial at \$400 a year and saved half of the \$400. His rise was rapid and methodical.

How Palmer, Field, and Levi Z. Lester joined forces in 1865 is the story of early Chicago retail adventure—a romantic tale now, but a battle for supremacy then in an environment that called for daring and originality. The story of the development of Marshall Field and Company as the world knows it today has never a dull moment. Always there are great achievements mingled with crises, including the Chicago fire of 1871, but always the crises are met and overcome; and many are called to have a part in the adventure.

In reading this story one realizes anew how the Yankee east invaded and conquered the Middle West. The names of its people are the names of New England, with the stern qualities traditionally associated with them. Also one sees the evolution of the American distribution system; how America's tastes for comforts and luxuries were nurtured; how we got where we are today.

Marshall Field has left his stamp on America for he established standards of service, quality and fair dealing that serve today as a yardstick of comparison.

Reading *Give the Lady What She Wants* is, as the title implies, an exposition on the methods by which Marshall Field and many another great merchant flourished. The story of "Mile-a-minute" Harry Gordon Selfridge is the link between the old and the new—and a fascinating story it is.

*Give the Lady What She Wants* is lavishly illustrated, and the authors, Lloyd Wendt and Herman Kogan, deserve praise for their excellent and exhaustive use of newspaper references, advertising and historic pictorial materials.

Detroit

REUBEN RYDING

*Iron Millionaire: Life of Charlemagne Tower.* By Hal Bridges. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952. xvi, 322 p. Illustrations, index. \$4.75.)

Born in 1809, graduated from Harvard in 1830, an attorney in 1836, bankrupt in 1842, and a millionaire in 1871, Charlemagne Tower, the subject of Hal Bridges' readable biography, demonstrated by his business career how fortunes could be wrested from the land in nineteenth-century America. In 1871 Tower realized a profit of \$1,500,000 from the sale of Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, coal lands which he had begun accumulating twenty-five years previously. Tower used his Northern Pacific bonds in the 1870's to acquire over one hundred thousand acres of Northern Pacific land, and from the piecemeal resale of these lands he apparently realized a tidy profit. Finally, in the 1880's, as the climax to

his career, Tower reaped a harvest of over \$6,000,000 from Minnesota's rich iron lands.

Like so many of his fellow entrepreneurs of the late nineteenth century, Charlemagne Tower, although he contributed importantly to the forging of American industrial power, sometimes used questionable methods to attain his goals. The history of iron mining in Minnesota begins, indeed, with Charlemagne Tower. It was Tower's Minnesota Iron Company which in 1884 initiated the mining of iron in the ore pits of Minnesota's Vermilion Range, and it was over Tower's Duluth and Iron Range Railroad that iron ore was first shipped from Vermilion to the shores of Lake Superior and thence to market. Tower, as Hal Bridges tells us, risked his entire fortune in the development of the Vermilion Range and in the construction of the railroad which made its iron accessible; and the prosperity which attended his efforts stimulated an interest in Minnesota's iron lands which culminated in the discovery of the fabulous Mesabi Range, a prize which Tower unwittingly permitted to slip from his grasp. The importance of Tower's contribution to the development of the American steel industry would thus be difficult to overestimate, and yet it must be noted that Tower acquired his Vermilion lands by fraudulently employing pseudo-homesteaders and pseudo-preemptors and by the illegal use of Sioux half-breed scrip. Devious methods would also appear to have been used by Tower's associates in acquiring from the Minnesota legislature a handsome land grant for the Duluth and Iron Range Railroad. Hal Bridges, to his credit, makes no attempt to gloss over these less creditable aspects of Tower's Minnesota venture, and if he emphasizes the importance of the results Tower achieved, he neither ignores nor condones the means that were employed.

Although Mr. Bridges interestingly sketches the outlines of Tower's business career and tells us probably all we should care to know about his subject's rather colorless personal life, his biography of the "iron millionaire" is deficient in several respects. Bridges does not, it seems to me, analyze in sufficient detail any of Tower's major business activities, and he is much too sparing in his judgments and evaluations. He makes little attempt to relate Tower to the times in which he lived, and although he informs us that Tower approved of Henry Carey and that he disapproved rather heartily of labor unions, he largely ignores Tower's views on social and economic affairs. Since it was the author's stated purpose not only to present "an impartial case study of an American businessman" but to provide by this means an insight into America's business civilization, it is particularly regrettable that he paid so little attention to environmental factors and to the ideas of his businessman subject.

*University of Michigan*

SIDNEY FINE

*Schuyler Colfax: The Changing Fortunes of a Political Idol.* By Willard H. Smith. (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Bureau, 1952. 475 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$4.75.)

Most people today know nothing about the career of Schuyler Colfax, who was vice-president of the United States from 1869 to 1873. The standard American history textbooks, if they mention Colfax at all, usually do so in relation to the *Crédit Mobilier* scandal, in which Colfax was implicated. Although he was not an outstanding political figure, Colfax's career in public life was important enough to warrant a scholarly biography.

Professor Willard H. Smith has met this need and given us the first critical biography of this controversial politician. The earlier biographies of Colfax, the campaign eulogies of 1868, and the one written by his brother-in-law, O. J. Hollister, are far too friendly. The central theme of Professor Smith's study is to show how Colfax "climbed the ladder of fame and while not falling into complete disgrace, did endure the suffering of alleged dishonesty and failure to prove conclusively his innocence."

Schuyler Colfax began his career in the newspaper business in Indiana, and after working for several newspapers he became editor in 1845 of the *St. Joseph Valley Register*. He always took an active interest in politics and in 1854 was elected to the House of Representatives as a candidate of the People's Party, which soon was known as the Republican Party. He remained in the House for fourteen years, serving as Speaker of the House from 1863 to 1869. During the Reconstruction period Colfax was aligned with the Radical Republicans, although he was never as extreme in his views as Charles Sumner or Thaddeus Stevens. In 1868 he was elected vice-president on the Republican ticket, serving in this capacity for four years.

During his term as vice-president Colfax was involved with the *Crédit Mobilier*, a construction company connected with the building of the Union Pacific Railroad. Perhaps the most stimulating chapter of the book is Professor Smith's treatment of Colfax's relations with the *Crédit Mobilier*. The biographer has waded through a mass of conflicting evidence to determine the part played by Colfax in the affair. He presents both sides of the case, evaluating the statements made by Oakes Ames, one of the leaders of the *Crédit Mobilier* and the chief accuser of Colfax, and of the latter, who maintained that he was not guilty of the charges leveled against him. Although Professor Smith draws certain conclusions from the conflicting evidence, he leaves the final judgment as to Colfax's guilt up to the reader. Indeed, the author has been so objective in his treatment of the scandal that he has been perhaps too lenient with Oakes Ames.

One criticism of the book, which does not detract from the excellence of the study, is the large number of direct quotations used in the text,

many of which might have been paraphrased. It is unfortunate also that more of the extremely interesting information about Colfax, which was included in the footnotes, could not have been worked into the body of the text. Aside from these minor criticisms, this scholarly and readable biography is rewarding to the student of history and especially to those interested in the Civil War and Reconstruction.

University of Michigan

PHILIP P. MASON

TWO ARTICLES IN THE SPRING, 1953 ISSUE of the *Autograph Collectors' Journal* have special interest to readers of *Michigan History*. One is entitled "Manuscripts in a Historical Museum," by Henry D. Brown. Mr. Brown is director of the Detroit Historical Museum, a member of the Historical Society of Michigan, and a former trustee. The other article is "Fredrika Bremer" by Signe A. Rooth. The author is the daughter of Gerhard T. Rooth, editor of the Swedish newspaper, *Nordstjernan* in New York. The June, 1953 issue of *Michigan History* published "Fredrika Bremer's Visit to Michigan," by Adrian Jaffe, assistant professor of English at Michigan State College.

THOSE INTERESTED IN FOLKLORE will no doubt be interested in the latest edition of *Badger Folklore*, 1952, No. 1, 24 pages, which has just been released by the Badger State Folklore Society, Madison 6, Wisconsin. In it will be found two articles written by Andrew Beechtree pertaining to Indian legends; a list of some fifty logging terms, together with a short list of lumberjack phrases by Albert E. Buckman; and two Fort Atchison tales by Zinda C. Ivey.

AN ARTICLE OF MUCH INTEREST TO MICHIGAN RESIDENTS is "The Building of the Sault Canal: 1852-1855," by Irene D. Neu of Connecticut College. This account of the financing and construction of the canal appears in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June.

## Contributors

Mrs. Margaret Ford Ruddiman, whose recollections of her brother Henry's youth and young manhood appear in this issue of *Michigan History*, is the oldest daughter of William and Mary Litogot Ford. She was born in 1867 on the family farm in Springwells and has lived in Dearborn since her marriage in 1900 to James E. Ruddiman.

Arthur T. Wilcox is assistant professor in park management at Michigan State College. Following completion of his master's degree at Syracuse in 1941, he served as park planner for the Akron, Ohio Metropolitan Park District before coming to Michigan in 1946. His interest in history stems from a conviction that proper marking, reconstruction, and preservation of historic sites is an important part of good park and recreation planning, contributing to both public enjoyment of travel and education in the American tradition.

Elizabeth Gaspar Brown is research assistant in the law school at the University of Michigan. She received her law degree from the University of Wisconsin and holds membership in the Wisconsin Bar.

Burton H. Boyum is a director and past president of the Central United States Ski Association, a director of the National Ski Association, secretary of the National Ski Museum Corporation, chairman of the National Ski Museum Committee, and president of the Ishpeming Ski Club. A graduate of the University of Minnesota, Mr. Boyum is by profession a geological engineer. He is assistant chief geologist for the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company at Ishpeming.

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The Historical Society of Michigan is an organization maintained and managed by Michigan citizens who are interested in the history of their state. It includes teachers, business men, professional people, and others who write history, study history, or just enjoy reading history. Its purpose is to encourage historical research and publication and to foster local historical societies throughout the state. Membership dues are \$3.00 per year. *Michigan History* is sent to each member.

The Michigan Historical Commission is an official state body, consisting of six members appointed by the Governor. It was first established by an act of the legislature in 1913. The Commission is custodian of the state's archives; it compiles, edits, and publishes Michigan materials; and seeks to cultivate, through the Historical Society of Michigan and other groups, a continuing interest in the history of Michigan from the early times to the present.

*Michigan History* is a quarterly journal containing articles by qualified writers on Michigan subjects, reviews of books related to Michigan and its past, and news of historical activities in the state. Contributions are invited. Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing 13, Michigan.

The Commission maintains at Lansing the Michigan Historical Museum, a rich storehouse of artifacts and documents related to the history of the state.

Among the activities of the Commission and the Society are the following: an annual meeting is held each year in October, at which tours and talks on Michiganiana are enjoyed; books and pamphlets are published from time to time; a conference on the teaching of Michigan materials is held annually; historical celebrations are encouraged in various parts of the state; a program of marking historical places is sponsored; guidance is provided to local governmental and state agencies on the destruction of useless records and the preservation of records having historical value.